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ABSTRACT

This course, one of 16 sequential courses comprising phase one of a part-time Bachelor of Arts degree program in Australian Studies, investigates work in contemporary Australian society, with particular attention paid to whether housework falls into the category of work, current economic crisis, the role of trade unions, and the effects of capitalism. The course is designed for independent study combined with tutorial sessions. Chapter 1 is an introduction to the course and its study objectives. Chapter 2, "The Shape of Work in Australia," gives an overview of the Australian economy and some issues in economic theory. Chapter 3, "Industrial Relations," deals with strikes and worker discontent. Chapter 4, "The Labor Process," covers theoretical perspectives on labor, and Chapter 5, "The Future of Work and Work of the Future" questions whether there will be enough work to meet employment demands in the future. Materials for tutorial one require students to examine news coverage of economic issues; tutorial two has students present a case for what is occurring in the labor force. Also included are lists of required readings, additional readings, a bibliography, and self-assessment questions. (IS)

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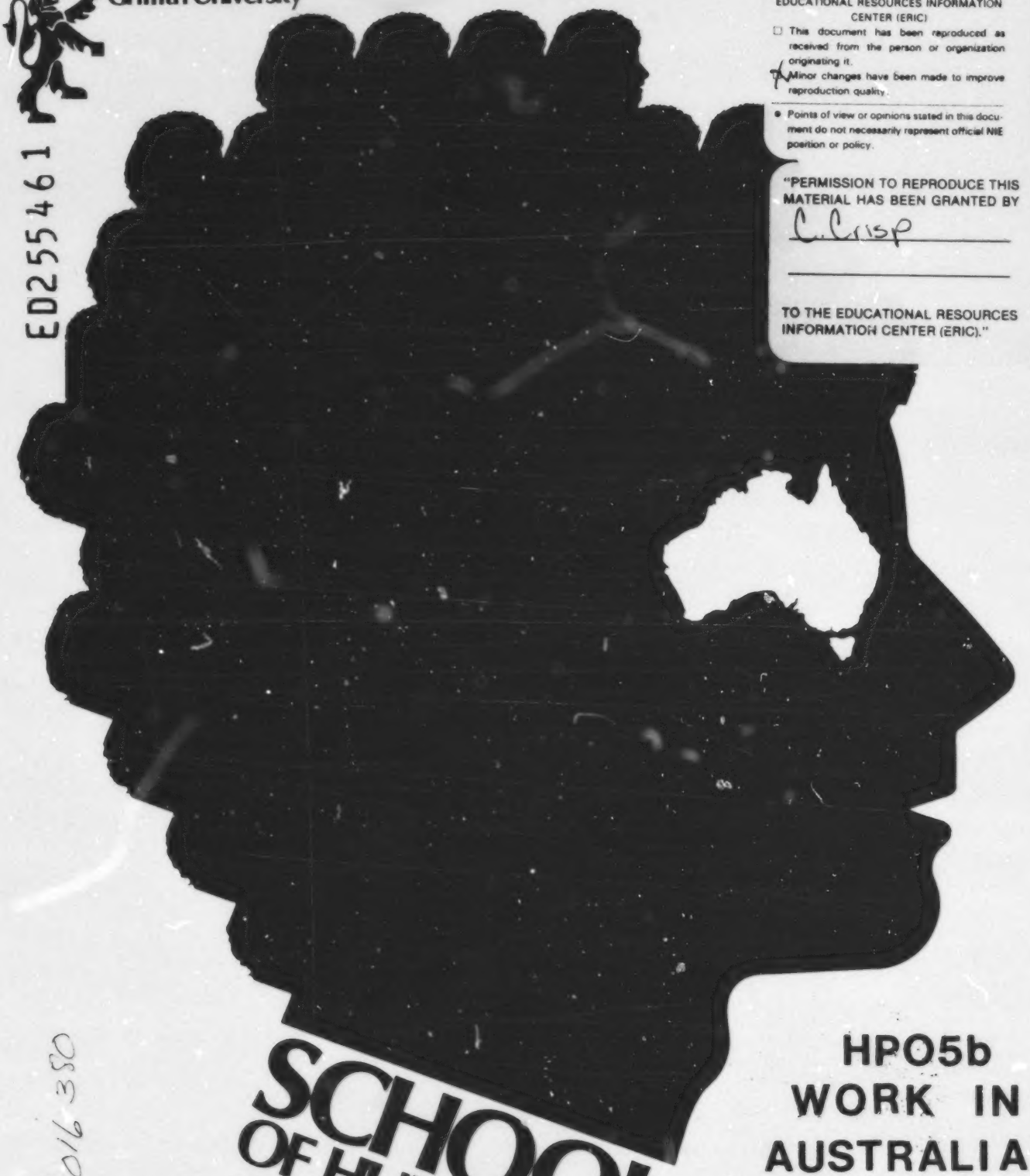

SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES

HPO5b
WORK IN
AUSTRALIA

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PART TIME BA DEGREE

GRIFFITH UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES

PART-TIME BA DEGREE PROGRAMME

COURSE HP05b

WORK IN AUSTRALIA

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COURSE INFORMATION: HP05b

Course readings

For this course you will need two texts:

W.G. Coppell, *Australia in Figures*, (Penguin, 1981) ($7.95) - retained from Course HP01b, *Traditions* and Course HP02b, *Urban Australia*

Ann Game and Rosemary Pringle, *Gender at Work*, (George Allen & Unwin, 1983) ($8.95)

You will be required to read virtually the whole of Game and Pringle throughout the course. To familiarise yourself with some of the course contents, it is advisable to read this book before you begin the course proper.

NB: You will notice a change of style in referring to pages in set readings. For example, 'reading 9, p.4' has been abbreviated to 'R9:4'; 'reading 14, pp.2-3' appears as 'R14:2-3'.

Assessment

The course will be assessed with a written assignment, including an analysis of a reading contained in the course package but not discussed in the study guide.

The main theme of the course is an analysis of competing views and explanations of work in contemporary industrial societies, but particularly in Australia. The assessment will focus on comparisons of statistical, case study and theoretical analyses of economic relations.

LIST OF READINGS

Readings are numbered in order of use, and aggregated according to the section of the study guide in which they first appear.

(Note: This list does not include readings from the purchased text books.)

Section 2 (pink cover)

Reading 1. '"Occupational status" of workforce 1911-1980'

Reading 2. 'Aggregate labour force participation rates, Australia and United States, 1967 to 1979'

Reading 3. 'Sectoral share of employment'

Reading 4. Barry Jones, 'The five-sector analysis' (excerpts)

Reading 5. Australia. Budget Papers, 'The budget and the economy' (excerpt)

Reading 6. AMWSU, 'Rafferty's results' (excerpts)

Reading 7. John Hurst, 'Harmony on the assembly line' (excerpts)

Section 3 (cream cover)

Reading 8. Leonard Radic, 'Unions judged too powerful'

Reading 9. Roy Kriegler, 'Shipbuilding and the unions' (excerpts)

Reading 10. Graeme Salaman, 'Classic theories of bureaucracy'

Section 4 (yellow cover)

Reading 11. Harry Braverman, 'Capitalism and the division of labour' (excerpt)

Reading 12. Richard Edwards, 'Three control types' (excerpt)

Reading 13. Roy Kriegler, 'Some notes towards researching the embourgeoisement thesis'

Section 5 (blue cover)

Reading 14. AMWSU, 'Why the horror policies will go on and on'

Reading 15 David Hickie, 'How would you create half a million jobs?'

Reading 16. Russell Lansbury, 'Structural and institutional barriers to change'

Assessment item (red cover)

Reading 17. Claire Williams, 'Job control and trade unionism'

PRELIMINARY EXERCISE

Before beginning the study guide, have a look at the following statements. They will help you to start thinking about some of the issues raised by the course. It will be interesting to see whether your answers (and your reasons for them) have changed at the end of the course!

	True	False	Unsure
1. Work is central to most people's lives.	☐	☐	☐
2. Businesses use the most efficient technology available.	☐	☐	☐
3. Work is degrading and dehumanising for most people.	☐	☐	☐
4. Anyone who wants to can get a job.	☐	☐	☐
5. It is preferable for married women to stay at home in times of high unemployment.	☐	☐	☐

Some comments concerning possible answers are found at the beginning of the answers to the SAQs (p.76), but these may make more sense when you have completed the course.

1 INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE AND ITS STUDY OBJECTIVES

In this course we focus on a particular social activity - work - and use Australian materials almost exclusively. Course HP05a, *Work in History*, introduced you to many of the ideas and concepts elaborated in this course. *Work in History* traced the emergence of modern work relations, whereas *Work in Australia* focusses on the development of these relations primarily in the twentieth century. It discusses some alternative explanations of industrial society in addition to the Marxist accounts you met in the previous course, and introduces some new theoretical concepts. These build on the concepts introduced in the previous course, such as industrial revolution, technological innovation and discipline.

Work - the concept

Course HP05a, *Work in History*, introduced you to the concept of work and demonstrated the emergence of work as a central activity in capitalist societies. Much sharper distinctions between work and non-work emerged during the development of capitalist forms of production. One of the major changes to work that emerged during the Industrial Revolution was that it became measured in units of time. Associated with this was the development of new methods to control work-pace and output. These are discussed at some length in section 4 of the course. We could claim that work is a 'central life interest' to many people. It is the major basis on which people define themselves, or their 'calling card'. For instance when you meet someone for the first time you often ask: What do you do? People interpret this to mean: What work do you do? and will give answers of the sort: I work for the government or I'm a plumber. These sorts of questions were not asked in traditional societies, where kin or status in the clan were usually the more important means of identification.

However, as the introduction to *Work in History* suggested, even in our society work is a problematic concept. There is certainly no agreement among writers or even politicians as to what constitutes work. For instance, if when asked: What do you do?, a person replies: I'm just a housewife, or: I'm a student, is that work? To the housewife who says 'just a housewife', it probably feels like work but she knows that most other people don't see it that way. In section 2 you will see that housework is not treated as work by statisticians, economists and many other commentators. Barry Jones (MHR), in reading 4, disagrees with this classification, as do many feminists. You will be asked to analyse the materials and decide for yourself.

These days, too, when asked: What do you do? many more people answer: I'm on the dole, or, I do a bit of this and that. People often feel defensive about not having a 'calling card' to show you. Some other people, like nuns and prisoners, do not work in the usual sense of the term, either.

In the meantime you may like to return to section 2.2 of Course HP05a, *Work in History*, where various possible but less than satisfactory definitions of work are canvassed - a particular kind of activity, a paid activity, an activity undertaken in a certain place, an activity undertaken within certain relations of authority and control.

Work - a problem for individuals

As the *Work in History* course suggested, work is often treated as a problem. The world of work is, in different ways, responsible for problems of all sorts. There are obviously personal problems surrounding work - the problems which individuals experience as individuals. Examples of these are accidents, disease, stress, exhaustion, worry about competence, fear of failure, boredom, lack of promotion, frustration, meaninglessness. For many workers there is the fear of redundancy, for others the reality of unemployment. For parents there is concern for their children's qualifications, career, or inability to find work. For husbands and wives there can be conflict about what counts as work, and the distribution of unpaid housework; for mothers there can be problems associated with women's dual responsibilities, and guilt about care of children.

Problems for individuals have group or community parallels. One person's job loss can reflect the sudden redundancy of a whole occupation or trade because of new technology or work processes. One family's difficulties in coping with life in an isolated mining town is a result of decisions taken by governments to pursue resource development, or by financiers (possibly far away in New York or Tokyo) to improve profits by moving out of manufacturing industry into mining. These issues are analysed in section 5, 'The future of work and work of the future'. It asks the questions: Is there enough work to go round? and, How can we share this resource more equitably?

Work - a public problem

Work causes private problems but it is also regarded as a public problem. It can be approached at a broader social level where it becomes a political and economic problem analysed in terms of theories about how economies operate, or what governments should do to solve such problems. For example, questions of profitability or of declining industries are regarded as large-scale economic problems which therefore require governmental intervention. But governments, and political parties, disagree about causes and solutions. They also disagree about the appropriate scale and form of government intervention. Governments also address the problems of generating new technologies, encouraging investment, increasing productivity. These issues are discussed in section 2, where we look at competing explanations of our economic problems, and section 5, where we discuss some different proposed solutions.

Unions are represented by the Australian media as a major 'problem'. More than half of Australia's workers belong to unions - from the Airline Pilots' Association to the Metalworkers' Union. Governments are often called in to solve conflicts between work-based groups. Section 3 ('Industrial relations') discusses some of the reasons why unions are considered to be such a problem, and why there is conflict in the workplace. (However after reading Course HP05a, *Work in History*, you should already have some ideas about this, e.g. the imposition of labour discipline by capitalists in order to extract surplus value from their workers.)

Work is a problem in all sorts of ways for all sorts of people. Problems operate at different levels: for individuals as workers or would-be workers; for groups - occupational (motor vehicle workers), demographic (married women) or geographic (mining town families); for those who influence the conditions of work - managers, shop stewards, government safety officers, politicians, journalists, to name but a few.

Work is a problem because it can affect people's lives, causing suffering, damage, stress, anxiety, financial difficulties, conflicts, etc. But work is also a theoretical problem. It is not clear what are the causes, origins and implications of the structure of work in our society. Commentators, academics and journalists, as well as workers more directly involved, differ in their explanation of why work problems occur, and therefore in suggestions for what can be done about them.

Work in theory

In this course we will look at some of these explanations. Section 3 ('Industrial relations') analyses major debates on the role of unions, and reasons for conflict at work. Section 4 ('The changing labour process') analyses a key concept of this course - the labour process - and the way this has changed with different discipline or control methods at work. You will be asked to think about which theories offer the best explanations of our work relations by analysing the assumptions they make, the logic of their arguments, and by comparing them with the evidence.

This course investigates competing analyses and explanations of the characteristic institutions and processes which govern our work lives. At the same time we will be looking at a number of theories about work and economic relations. All explanations of the problems of work, those experienced as private woes and those considered public problems (but particularly the latter since they are topics of public debate and concern, public issues) are based to an important extent on theories. Which theory we endorse or use influences, to a considerable extent, the way we deal with facts: the facts don't speak for themselves. There is nothing abstract or academic about this necessary

concern with theory. Good theories are practical because they allow us accurately to understand, and therefore influence, the processes at issue.

The organisation of work and the pattern of economic relations in our own society are by no means inevitable or 'natural'. Things are different elsewhere; they will be different here in the future. The world we live in is an historical accomplishment rather than a predetermined fate. In section 5 ('The future of work and work of the future') we look at some of the hardships caused by the economic recession in the 1980s and the alternatives that have been proposed. By the end of the course, you should be able to analyse the competing explanations and proposals about the Australian economy and work relations with confidence and understanding.

Study objectives

Your work in this course can be summarised in terms of the following study objectives:

1. You will learn why there is so much debate about work-related issues in our society, and you will learn to evaluate these debates in terms of the evidence used the assumptions made and the logic of the argument.

2. In order to do this you will study some of the evidence that relates to work in our society. The evidence discussed in this course takes three basic forms - statistics, case studies and commentaries. You will be asked to assess the strengths and weaknesses of these.

3. Additionally, you will learn some new concepts which relate to the various theories of economic relations in capitalist societies, particularly the labour process and industrialism.

2 THE SHAPE OF WORK IN AUSTRALIA

You read stories about work and the economy all the time in the press. Statistics on the economy are continually being published. Social scientists also conduct case studies of work in contemporary Australia. In this section, we examine and compare some alternative discussions of work. We look at some statistics to do with work, some official commentaries on the economy, the evaluation of work by participants in job attitude surveys and several of the recent case studies.

2.1 The statistics

In this section, we will examine a number of statistical series relating to work. The main thrust of the section will be to show that statistics select certain aspects of reality or represent certain viewpoints and so should be read with caution. It is this process that the saying 'lies, damned lies and statistics' refers to. First, we will see that analysis of a statistical series over time tells us something that a snapshot analysis at one point in time does not. We will look at statistics on occupational status, participation rates, unemployment, hidden unemployment. Many of these concepts will be unfamiliar to you but are explained below. We will look at several ways of dividing the workforce by occupational groups, by industry groups and by sector of employment. Such divisions rely on different statistical sources and this too is discussed. Finally, it will be shown how the subject of the different forms of sectoral division of the economy introduces the domestic labour debate and depends, for one thing, on whether housework is defined as work.

Statistics on the economy, and hence on the shape of work and employment in Australia, are available from a number of sources. The Australian Bureau of Statistics is a good place to start although other government authorities are useful, e.g. the Industries Assistance Commission, the Bureau of Industry Economics, the Bureau of Labour Market Research. Some of these sources appear in Coppell's book, *Australia in Figures*. In relation to statistics on the economy, the banks also analyse various aspects of work relations, as do some tertiary institutions (e.g. INDECS at Adelaide and Flinders Universities, often reported in the *Australian Financial Review*; or the Department of Industrial Relations at the University of New South Wales). At the end of this course you should know where to go to locate various statistics.

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Read W.G. Coppell, *Australia in Figures*, p.91, the table 'Occupational status of the labour force'.

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This table concerns occupational status. This indicates whether a worker is an employer, employee, assistant, etc. It does not represent the worker's occupation. You will see that in August 1980, 83.39 per cent of the Australian labour force were classified as wage and salary earners, and only 5.86 per cent as employers. As with many of Coppell's tables, this one provides no historical dimension - no analysis of changes over time - which might have provided a context for the figures.

****

Read '"Occupational status" of the workforce 1911-1980', reading 1.

****

The table in reading 1 does show the change in occupational status of the labour force over time since 1911. It also provides a comparison between males and females. You will note that the percentage of men who are employers dropped more or less steadily until 1980, except in the depression year of 1933. Similarly those who were self-employed (e.g. shopkeepers, small business owners) declined from 1933 and assistants working without wages (mainly members of a family business) also declined. For women the picture is different. In all three categories of employer, self-employed and assistant they show no trend of either decrease or increase. Despite this, the percentage of women who are employers is about half that of the male percentage, while the percentage of assistants is about double that of the male percentage from 1947. As we shall see below, this indicates the subordinate position of women in the Australian workforce.

The unemployment data, not shown in reading 1 but discussed below, reveal the massive increase in numbers out of work in 1933 - matched only by the numbers in 1980. However the percentage is much lower today, about 10 per cent compared with 30 per cent, because the size of the workforce has grown considerably over the last fifty years.

These changes in occupational status of the workforce are a result of changes in technology, size of firm and so on. Some of these were discussed in Course HP05a, *Work in History*, and they will be further analysed in section 4 of this course.

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Study Coppell, pp.94-95, particularly the tables dealing with participation rates.

Study 'Aggregate labour force participation rates, Australia and United States, 1967 to 1979', reading 2.

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The table on p.95 of Coppell shows some data on labour force participation rates for various age and sex groupings (or cohorts). The participation rate includes both those who are employed and those who are unemployed but looking for work. One measure of labour force participation for the whole population could be to calculate those working or looking for work as a percentage of the whole population. This could gradually change, both because there are changes in the percentage of people outside working age (usually less than 15 and over 65 years old) and because there is a changing proportion of certain age cohorts who wish to work. For instance, there has been a general rise in the female labour force participation rate in the 1960s and 1970s, and a decline in the youth participation rate, at least until recently. Thus on p.95 of Coppell, labour force participation of those 15-19 years old is lower than for those 20-24 years old, as many young people stay at school or tertiary institutions. Note the lower participation rates for women in all age groups. This reflects women's expected social role of raising families, and thus the participation rate drops to a low of 53.2 per cent in the 25-34 age category, when women are most likely to be caring for young children. Note also that married women have a lower participation rate than all women: 42.8 per cent compared with 44.7 per cent, though that it is only slightly lower may surprise some readers. (N.B. As you may have noticed, there appears to be an error in Coppell. The shaded areas in the diagrams showing percentages of all females and married women in the labour force should be reversed.)

Again, Coppell's data provide no longitudinal (i.e., historical or time series) comparisons. Note that the labour force participation rate for Australian males has dropped since 1967, but for females it has risen. This reflects both trends we discussed in relation to Coppell's data. Stricker and Sheehan (1981) (who produced this figure originally) compare Australian data with that for the U.S.A. What does the figure show? It reveals that as the recession has deepened in Australia, proportionately more women in this country than in the U.S.A. have left the workforce since 1975. More Australian women have become 'discouraged workers'. Discouraged workers are people who would work if employment were available but have left the workforce because they feel no work is available. The phenomenon of 'discouraged worker' is so great in Australia that if their participation rate had conformed with that of the U.S.A.

there would have been an extra 430,000 people in the workforce in 1979 (Stricker and Sheehan, 1981, p.53). Many of these would have been unemployed and so an increased participation rate would increase unemployment rates. It could be suggested that in Australia women have responded to the calls to return to the home, and so have lessened the measured impact of the recession in terms of unemployment rates. Discouraged workers can thus also be seen as a form of 'hidden unemployment'.

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Study Coppell, p.97, paying particular attention to the data on international comparisons.

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Coppell shows some data on unemployment on p.97. Note that in 1979 the official rate of unemployment in Australia was slightly lower than that in the U.S.A. There has been much discussion about the definition of unemployment. For a time the federal government favoured the Australian Bureau of Statistics' definition of unemployment: it comprised all people aged 15 years and over who were not employed during the survey week but who were seeking work or waiting to start or be called back to work. What, however, does 'seeking work' include? The Fraser government abandoned this definition as too arbitrary and instead chose the Commonwealth Employment Service's definition - those eligible for and receiving unemployment benefits. This excluded many people who were not eligible for benefits, e.g. married people whose spouses were working. Some economists felt this measure underestimated the real level of employment.

As a result, notions of 'hidden unemployment' and the 'discouraged worker' gained currency. The hidden unemployment rate is now about the same as the official unemployment rate, i.e., it doubles the percentage defined as unemployed. The hidden unemployed include people who have chosen alternatives other than continuing to look for work, because they have been discouraged from job seeking by the high unemployment rates. They would, however, rather work if they could - which may also mean if they could get a job of the right kind (e.g. for mothers, part-time work close to home). Teenagers return to school, while some recipients of unemployment benefits are redefined by social security staff as invalids or supporting parents. Some young girls and women become involved in caring for aged relatives, while others 'moonlight', trying forms of self-employment or working in the so-called 'hidden' or 'cash' economy. This sometimes includes illegal activities (e.g. prostitution, drug-running) and usually involves income which is not declared in taxation returns. As in primitive societies, employment is also difficult to define in contemporary Australia.

Course HP05a, *Work in History*, identified the problematic nature of work in primitive societies. The notion of unemployment just does not apply to primitive societies. This is because activities of all sorts flow into each other and are interrupted and paced by the cycle of the seasons. Is a raindance work? Does the failure of the yam crop make one unemployed? Nevertheless, the statistics we discussed above reveal that work is also problematic in our society, but for different reasons. We have a 'dominant definition' of work (paid employment) but more difficulty in deciding who belongs to the labour force, who is looking for work. Another aspect of the statistics to be considered is their source and classification.

****

Read Coppell, p.91, 'Civilian labour force by occupational groups' and p.109, 'Weekly wage rates, selected industry groups'.

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If, for example, we compare the two different systems of classification of the labour force used on pp.91 and 109 of Coppell, we find that in the first table the labour force has been divided into occupational groupings, while in the second table the division has been made on the basis of industry groups. As to their source, in the former table the figures have been arrived at from census returns; in other words the allocation of individuals to a classifica-tion is to a certain extent self-administered, since it depends on the way in which people have replied to particular questions. On p.109 the source of the statistics is employers' payroll tax returns and other direct collections.

In both examples, the categories used have been determined by the Australian Bureau of Statistics for particular purposes and may be more or less useful according to the purpose for which we require them. Thus although the system of classification used on p.109 provides information on comparative wage rates between different industries it tells us nothing about the differences between, say, administrative and process workers, either in general or within those particular industries; nor, moreover, does it define the nature and limits of one particular 'industry', which could incorporate a wide variety of different activities.

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Study 'Sectoral share of employment', reading 3.

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The effects of alternative classification systems are revealed by comparison of three different ways of dividing

the economy into its constituent sectors. Reading 3 is based on the usual sectoral division into the primary sector (here rural and mining are separated), the secondary sector (manufacturing) and the tertiary sector (services). Note the decline in the share of employment in the primary sector during this century, the growth and then decline for the secondary sector since the early seventies, and the continued growth of the tertiary sector. The tertiary sector in 1979 accounted for 73 per cent of the workforce. This tertiary sector must be disaggregated (or further divided), according to Barry Jones: it is too large a group of different kinds of activities to be adequately classified under one heading. Jones also argues that we need a new definition of work and to this end he develops a five-sector model of the Australian economy.

****

Read Barry Jones, 'The five-sector analysis' (excerpts), reading 4.

****

SAQ 1

1. Why does Jones believe that a five-sector model of the economy is superior to a three-sector model?

2. What, in your view, are some of the problems associated with the five-sector model?

Jones argues that the tertiary sector should be redivided into three sectors - tertiary, quaternary and quinary, i.e., third, fourth and fifth. The tertiary sector now incorporates the processing of materials and energy, e.g. transport and electricity. The quaternary sector includes the processing of information, not goods; ideas and representations of goods (in the way that cheques represent money) are to be included here. Note, however, that printing (e.g. newspapers) is included in the quaternary sector even though material products are the result of the printing process. Jones departs from the former three-sector division in this instance, because he wishes to stress the significance of information processing in our society and because he is interested in the effects of technology on employment in each sector. This issue is returned to in more detail in section 4 of this course. The quinary sector is discussed below.

2.2 Domestic labour

Here we will focus on the effects of defining a quinary sector. You may have noticed that Jones takes the household as his basis for definition. This produces three subdivisions in the sector: unpaid domestic duties either for one's own family or for others; paid domestic duties that once were done by households but are now produced by institutions of the state or private enterprise; and home-based work like pottery and vegetable growing where the work is done for its own sake rather than for remuneration. In relation to the first two categories, it does seem absurd that a housekeeper is a worker but a housewife is not. On the other hand, Jones's analysis disguises the fact that domestic labour is not remunerated on the market, is not paid work. Jones has taken the model of the pre-capitalist household where he assumes a whole range of small-scale productive activities were carried out and placed all these in the quinary sector. Again, there is a reason for this and it relates to Jones's concern with employment and what can count as work in contemporary society. He would like all home-based or related activities to count as work, even those for which people are not paid. However, he confuses two types of activities - those done primarily for the good of others (child-care and spouse brow-soothing, for example) and those done primarily for one's own pleasure which may or may not benefit others (e.g. enamelling, stamp trading). By integrating these two kinds of activities, Jones ignores a fundamental issue in this debate - most caring activities are done by women and on the whole they do not receive payment for them. Jones ignores that paid and unpaid employment are quite separate affairs not only in terms of remuneration but also which sex is more often responsible for them.

The problem of domestic labour, or the unpaid household and family maintenance activities of women (usually) has been well canvassed over the last decade or so. You will remember from *Work in History* that in traditional societies the regions of work and non-work were not clearly separated and a notion of the economy is harder to apply to these societies. With the spread of capitalism the private and public spheres became separated and women became identified with the private sphere of family, home, unpaid loving and caring and men with the public sphere of work, production and politics. The economy is the market for goods and services but the family does not constitute a market (we do not talk seriously of a marriage market or the price of a child). However, in order to understand the economy in traditional societies, Course HP05a defined work as 'all those activities necessary for the maintenance of all the individuals in a society, as well as the society itself' (p.43). By this definition, housework is clearly work.

This, in fact, identifies the crux of the debate over whether housework is part of productive labour and economic activity. Marx claimed that part of the worker's wages are

paid not only to bring the worker refreshed and fed back to the factory gates on the morrow, but also to bring another worker to the factory gates in a generation's time - to reproduce the worker in offspring. These nurturing and reproducing functions have in capitalist society become defined as the role of women, and it is assumed that part of the male worker's wage is payment for those functions. But this raises the questions of how much of the wage is owed to the wife and mother. What about the wage of working mothers? Of single people? Does the imputed payment for domestic labour no longer apply where many husbands and wives both work? These questions have not been adequately answered in the debate so far (in other words you must weigh up the competing arguments). It is well to be aware, however, of some of the effects of the debate on women's wages. It has been assumed since Mr. Justice Higgins's Harvester judgement in 1907, in which he calculated a wage adequate for a breadwinner, wife and two children, that the male wage is a family wage. The Commonwealth Arbitration Court was established in 1905. Mr. Justice Higgins was one of its most famous early judges, often deciding in favour of the workers, at least according to the employers. The converse of this is the assumption that a female's wage does not go to support a family (even though she may be the sole breadwinner) and so should be lower. Furthermore, she should not deprive male breadwinners of jobs in times of recession. In section 4.4, we look further at the role of women in the workforce.

Game and Pringle discuss the similarity of housework to other forms of work from another perspective - in terms of the context of the job and how technological change has influenced it.

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Read Ann Game and Rosemary Pringle, *Gender at Work*, pp.119-133.

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SAQ 2

1. In what ways is housework like other work?

2. In what ways is it different?

Like other forms of work, housework may be deskilled (e.g. shopping) and technological change may ease some of the arduous physical tasks but perhaps expand the time spent on them. Women have little discretionary control over what they do and when. However, Game and Pringle also focus on the contradiction of housework - women work to provide a

good leisure environment for the rest of the family. This is one of the reasons why housework is sometimes seen as 'good fun' or requiring little time. Game and Pringle note that the family is defined as the 'arena of personal fulfilment and individual meaning' (p.120). Housework is done in the private sphere, the home, where men take their leisure.

The issue of whether housework is work or not is unresolvable unless one can be sure why one wants to know, and hence what one's definition of work will be. The activities may be like work but the remuneration and interpersonal relations certainly are not. The usefulness to society may be as important as for paid work but the supervision and control is much less. The sphere in which it is undertaken has a very different meaning for men and women. It is also true that some feminists define housework as work because they wish to be paid for it, to be free of dependence on a male breadwinner. Economists (usually men) resist this definition because they do not see it as productive. The interests of commentators also influence their definition.

Thus, housework is viewed very differently by men and women - assuming men toil in offices and factories and women in the home. Emotional content ('a labour of love', p.127) which reflects the expectation of nurturing and caring and sexual imagery ('we find pleasure in pleasing men', p.128) are built into housework, so that husband's pleasure becomes the wife's work. Again, it should be noted that dominant male (patriarchal) views in capitalist society do see housework as 'not really' work, partly because of these other functions.

2.3 Competing explanations of recession

The previous section asked the question: What counts as work in Australian society? The debate over the definition of housework and domestic labour was canvassed. In this section, we discuss another topical debate - the debate over what has caused the economic recession, and the implications of the recession for work in Australia. Every day the media bombards us with explanations of the economic recession. Economists appear on television and radio with competing theories. In the next three readings we look at three very different explanations.

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Read Australia. Budget Papers, 1977-78, 'The budget and the economy' (excerpt), reading 5, and

AMWSU (Australian Metalworkers and Shipwrights Union), 'Rafferty's results', reading 6.

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SAQ 3

1. What is the cause of recession identified by the poem from 'Rafferty's results'?

2. Is this the same as the cause identified by the Treasury in reading 5?

Australian economists offer two basic explanations of recession - the monetarist and the Keynesian. The monetarist explanation, as espoused by Treasury, focusses on inflation as the cause of unemployment. It suggests that government spending has increased too much and this has 'crowded out' the opportunities for private sector investment. Government spending has been financed by increasing the money supply (printing money and borrowing money) faster than an increase in the production of goods and services. This creates inflation and so causes workers to demand higher wages. The solution is to reduce government spending, control the money supply, and halt the increase in wages. All this will slow down inflation and so improve business confidence and, ultimately, profitability and so restore full employment.

The AMWSU, adopting a Keynesian line, asks what has been the result of an attempt to fight inflation first. Under the Fraser government, it meant a redistribution of national income from wages to profits. This redistribution was even more significant if one takes account of the 'social wage'. The social wage is a measure of 'after-tax, after redistribution' income. It takes account both of what people pay in taxes and what they receive in return in health care, education, housing, and social security payments from the state. The AMWSU claim that capitalists did indeed receive a greater share of profits (particularly after tax) under the Fraser government but that this did not lead to the expansion in economic activity which the Treasury predicted. Why not?

Treasury's answer is that real wages have not fallen enough. The AMWSU's answer is that because capital is international, Australian wage rates may be competitive only when they sink to the level of Asian wages. Additionally, the Fraser government's investment incentive scheme has encouraged a replacement of workers with machinery while some profits are used only for corporate take-overs instead of the expansion of productive activity. The AMWSU is focussing on a 'demand-pull' solution to the recession: workers are also consumers and it is only by expanding their incomes that demand for goods will increase, thus leading to greater economic activity and a fall in unemployment. For a similar reason - to increase demand - the AMWSU also advocates an expansion in government spending.

A further point to note is that one of the reasons for the AMWSU's different explanation is its recognition of the power relations which underlie economic relations. It does not talk merely of neutral markets determining the level and direction of economic activity but also of governments and corporate leaders choosing certain policies, imposing certain outcomes on the workforce.

Reading 7, 'Harmony on the assembly line', adopts a different explanation of recession and unemployment but focusses on those factors internal to the work organisation which result in less than optimal output.

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Read John Hurst, 'Harmony on the assembly line' (excerpts), reading 7.

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Economics is divided into macro- and micro-economics. Readings 5 and 6 provide macro-economic or economy-wide explanations for the economic crisis. Micro-economics focusses more on relations internal to the firm, e.g. the mixture of labour, materials and machinery chosen to produce an output. Micro-economics assumes that the price of factors of production is determined by their demand and supply in various markets. It does not deal with government intervention, for instance, to change these 'prices', e.g. the investment allowance. The *National Times* article, reading 7, adopts a micro-economic analysis. It suggests that poor industrial relations may be the cause of poor economic performance by many Australian firms. This article draws on a theme you explored in Course HP03a, *Community and Identity*, the difference between consensus and coercion. Here it is related to output and productivity at work. The writer of the article provides examples of both a consensus and conflict version of industrial relations at Chrysler, partly because both sides (capital and labour) gain something and lose something. If indeed Chrysler reduces costs and so gains a competitive edge over GMH and Ford, fear of redundancy among Chrysler workers should be reduced. However, will this mean more redundancies at GMH and Ford? This is one of the inadequacies of a micro-economic analysis - it does not take account of effects beyond the firm, in this instance, the poorer performance of the firms.

Furthermore, a bigger cake means more rewards for management and labour to share, but the cutting of the cake must still be decided. This is where cynical comments by Mowbray, Townsend and other union officials have their bite. As long as the cake grows, we can talk of consensus and some kind of solution to the recession (at least in that firm). Once the cake stops growing, conflict is more likely to erupt. This distinction is elaborated in section 3, where we look at industrial relations.

Explanations of the recession then vary as to the scope of study - from the firm to the whole international economy; the scapegoats chosen - workers, managers or the government; and the variables analysed - power, efficiency, co-operation being perhaps the key ideas in these readings. Thus, the AMWSU blames capitalists for relocating investment overseas and the Fraser government for allowing them to do so. Treasury blames the workers for demanding overly high wages, while the *National Times* article suggests the possibility of co-operation between management and workers to achieve greater output.

Explanations vary also because of the evaluations and moral judgements of their authors. It would be wrong to assume that government descriptions contain no prescriptive (or moral 'ought') element. People's perceptions of their own work are also value-laden. Such perceptions describe evaluations people make of their working environments. It is to these personal perceptions of work we now turn.

2.4 Perceptions of work

Job attitude surveys have become the stock in trade of industrial sociologists. An English study is discussed briefly in section 3. Coppell shows on p.95 that only 9.4 per cent of Australian employees are dissatisfied with their jobs. Do you think that workers from all occupations would be equally dissatisfied? As you will see below, dissatisfaction is more characteristic of workers in low-status unskilled jobs.

Emery and Phillips carried out a job satisfaction survey of 2000 urban Australian workers in the early 1970s. They discovered that 11 per cent loved their jobs, and a full 83 per cent expressed some positive attitudes, while 12 per cent were indifferent and only 5 per cent didn't like orhated them (Emery and Phillips, 1976, p.8). Do you find these statistics hard to accept? The authors did, and asked further questions about job satisfaction and skill, responsibility, education and so on. They discovered that most of the dissatisfied workers were clustered in low-skill jobs in which they had little autonomy. They also discovered that their respondents gave a few basic reasons for their levels of job satisfaction. Most referred to factors extrinsic to the job activity, e.g. wages, 55 per cent, while only 29 per cent referred to 'intrinsic' features of the job itself. What kind of reasons do you think a scientist would give? A plumber? A machine operator?

Surveys suffer from certain disadvantages. For example, questionnaire design or the personality of the interviewer may well influence responses, and the statistical presentation of survey results is open to the same criticisms we have made of other types of statistics.

The case study approach is less quantitative and more qualitative. (See Course HP02b, *Urban Australia*, p.7 for a definition of these terms.) The reporter or observer usually spends some time at the workplace (participant observation) and conducts in-depth interviews with workers. Two such case studies will be referred to in this course - *Working for the Company* about the Whyalla shipyards and *Open Cut*, describing Queensland coalmining. Roy Kriegler worked for three months as a manual worker at the Whyalla shipyard before interviewing professional, supervisory and manual workers; Claire Williams spent a total of five months (spread over six trips) at Goonyella and Peak Downs open-cut coal mines in Queensland. Kriegler's research combines participant observation (working for the company) and lengthy interviews. Williams relied on interviews, but also interviewed the wives of workers and talked to some respondents in more depth than Kriegler did. Each of the six chapters in Game and Pringle is also a case study, but few of them involved participant observation.

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Read Game and Pringle, pp.25-32.

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SAQ 4

1. In Game and Pringle's book, besides the main text, there is a Forward, Acknowledgements, Bibliography and Index. These all provide certain kinds of information. In which of these places do Game and Pringle indicate the sources of their evidence for chapter 1 on the white goods industry? What are their sources?

2. What other sources of evidence are discussed in pp.25-32?

Game and Pringle did not carry out any participant observation research. Instead they relied on the accounts of various participants, tours of the workplaces and official sources of information. For the white goods industry, Game and Pringle start with a global economic perspective, associating a reduction in employment with changes in the 'international division of production' (a relocation of production to other countries). They then summarise government data on the structure of the industry before discussing their own investigation. Their own data are more impressionistic. Their findings allow them to divide job types not only into skilled and unskilled (which most statisticians would be happy to do on 'objective grounds') but also into interesting or boring (these categories describe the subjective feelings of the workers).

Distinctions like 'heavy/light' or 'dirty/clean' are distinctions offered by the workers themselves. Game and Pringle offer an additional distinction 'mobile/immobile', which they relate to gender differences in the workplace. In this way sociologists and other theorists systematise and elaborate the knowledge that workers have of their environment. Would workers agree with this last distinction (mobile/immobile)? Would agreement itself be gender-based?

Note how we have canvassed three different ways of describing jobs here. The first division skilled/unskilled could perhaps be made by an outside observer; someone watching the demands that the job places on its occupant. The next category refers to people's subjective feelings about the job (e.g. boring/interesting). We could link this to the first dimension by claiming that a skilled job is more interesting. However, it may be wrong to do this. For instance, sometimes workers point out that a really boring mechanical job allows them to escape, to talk to workmates or to daydream. A job which requires a little skill may demand constant attention and so be perceived as more boring. Finally, another set of categories is offered by the sociological researchers (e.g. mobile/immobile), categories the workers themselves possibly would not use. If you explained the category to workers, some would no doubt agree but some would say 'Oh no, women's jobs don't tie them to one place. Or if they do in this factory, that's just an accident. It wouldn't usually be the case.' It is likely that female workers would perceive the distinction between mobile/immobile more readily than male workers, because they experience the 'brunt' of it.

This section has also shown how one can assess people's attitudes to work in two basic ways - by questionnaire and interview and by participant observation. You will remember from Course HP03a, *Community and Identity*, that Martin used a questionnaire approach to analyse suburban communities while Goffman posed as a sports assistant in the asylum. As a result, Martin gathered quantifiable data which she could present in tables and manipulate for comparative purposes. However, respondents can misrepresent the situation to her more easily or indulge in wishful thinking. It is harder to lie to Goffman, or Kriegler, as these people are on the spot, observing the community under study. On the other hand, one cannot be sure about people's motivations merely by observing their behaviour. For an attitude survey it is preferable to ask people what their attitudes are, rather than guess at them from their external behaviour (e.g. smiling or frowning). Finally, the rich data gleaned by participant observation is more susceptible to filtering by the researcher's biases and far less amenable to systematisation or replication.

These are some of the difficulties associated with different attempts to describe work relations. Further to this, when reading accounts such as these it is important to avoid the error of assuming that 'the facts' speak for

themselves. This is because, as will have become apparent to you, there are a number of different views and understandings of how things are, varying as to what facts people notice, what emphases they display and what interpretations they develop. The readings above present you with different types of evidence about economic relations in Australia but all are to some degree subjective, even when they appear to use objective measures such as statistics.

Whatever source is used, it is always the product of subjective choice - on the part of, for example, interviewees, researchers or newspaper editors - about what to say or print and what not to. In turn, these choices are themselves determined by subjective attitudes. This is not to say that they are dishonest, merely that the search for explanations is inevitably influenced by beliefs and values. In part, workers' attitudes are a result of direct experience - as in the case of the interviewed miners and BHP employees - but they are also usually coloured by prior values or social myths, as Game and Pringle's analysis of gender relations at work shows. Emotional attitudes and myths surround industrial relations possibly more than any other area of organisation theory. It is to industrial relations that we now turn.

3 INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Industrial relations refers to management/worker relations, usually in the workplace. We usually associate conflict with the term but this is not a necessary element of the definition. We will consider why most Australians perceive industrial relations as inherently conflictive in section 3.2, when we examine industrial disputes. Normally we would consider an industrial dispute to be a strike, because the unions want something management will not give them. However not all disputes are between management and workers and nor is it necessarily about workplace issues. About 4 per cent of days lost each year (and a much higher percentage of disputes) are due to a category called trade unionism, which includes inter-union and intra-union disputes, such as demarcation disputes (Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Year Book*, 1980, p.187). The green bans of the early seventies by the Builders Labourers' Federation and the more recent bans on the shipment of uranium yellow cake by the Australian Railways Union and other unions demonstrates that unions also sometimes involve themselves in political or social issues. A related issue concerns the definition of union. The statistics in Coppell (pp.98-101) do not include the Australian Medical Association as a union. Do you agree with this definition? What are your reasons? (This will be discussed in Tutorial One, see p.38.)

By examining the history of industrial relations we can see how the role of unions has changed. Australia's first recorded 'combination' of workers to raise wages occurred in 1795 among reapers of the wheat harvest. The first activities by workers' organisations which attempted to exercise industrial muscle occurred in the 1850s over the eight-hour day in Sydney and Melbourne. These 'unions' grew out of friendly societies formed to provide minimal social security for members. As late as the turn of the century the Australian Society of Engineers still carried out considerable welfare activities for its members and families. The 1890s saw the emergence of new large unions of relatively unskilled labourers (miners, shearers). Some historians link this to what they claim is the emergence of a working class in Australia. These new unions were rendered impotent by the depression of the 1890s. This is sometimes considered the reason for the foundation of the arbitration systems in all states at the turn of the century. Arbitration was seen by some workers as a government-approved scheme for upholding minimum wages and conditions. In the early years, employers certainly avoided going to arbitration if they could. However, it became increasingly accepted as part of industrial relations, although Prime Minister Bruce attempted to abolish the federal arbitration courts in 1920, and to take over the state system in 1926. Both attempts were unsuccessful, due largely to employees' and unions' internal divisions over which system (state or federal) was preferable. Again, in the late 1920s, three great conflicts (on the waterfront,

among timber workers and in the New South Wales coalfields) reduced the unions' role in the depression of the 1930s to an insignificant one. After the war, however, there was an outburst of industrial activity and wages rose through the fifties and sixties. During this period the composition of unions changed to include more white-collar workers, and many of these unions appeared to move to the left as they affiliated with the ALP or joined the ACTU (Australian Council of Trade Unions - formed in 1927). This brief history suggests that a definition of union as a combination of blue-collar workers organised for the purpose of improving workplace conditions and economic rewards would be inadequate.

3.1 Strike statistics

In this section, we will discuss various ways of presenting and analysing strike statistics. It is a matter which has caused much discussion among industrial relations writers.

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Study Coppell, pp.98-101.

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SAQ 5

1. Suggest a reason why the number of trade unionists has grown while the percentage of male workers who are unionists has fallen.

2. What seem to be the main patterns of changes in industrial disputation in the period 1950-1979?

Four measures of the 'size' of a dispute are offered by Coppell. This should alert you to the fact that disputation is a complex and many-faceted concept.

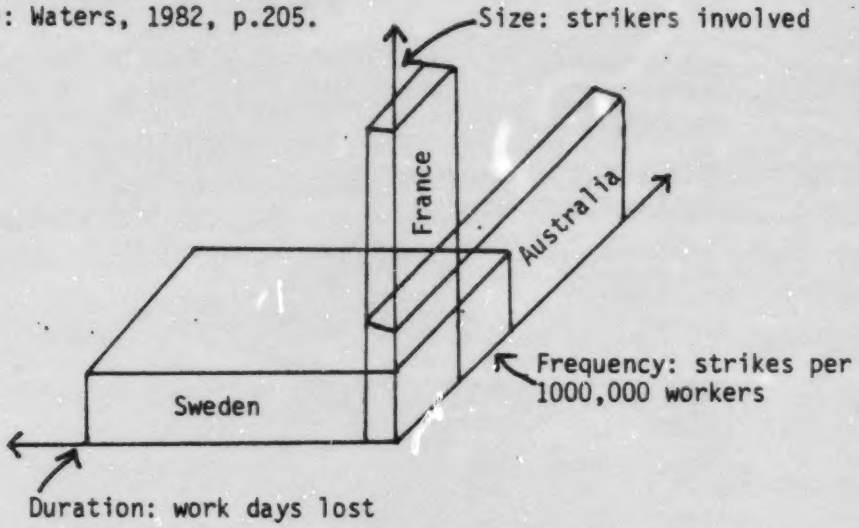
In the first place it must be appreciated that there is a problem of definition. A 'dispute' here refers to a dispute officially notified and recorded and may well exclude some settled by those methods listed on p.100 which do not involve state or commonwealth intervention. In addition, the basis for the compilation of statistics is likely to have altered between 1919, the earliest date used here, and 1979. Another problem involves the use of averages and the choice of years for comparison. An average number of workers involved in industrial disputes over three years may disguise sharp differences in involvement between those years, with one very large dispute resulting in an artificially high average figure. The same kind of

distortion may apply to the choice of years for comparison. Thus, although the international comparison of working days lost per 1000 workers for 1977 puts Australia somewhere in the middle of the international table of industrial disputation, a comparison using another year might provide a completely different result.

Some industrial relations writers capture the volume of disputes by using three measures, as shown in the figure below. Volume is a three-dimensional category, covering the number of strikers involved, the frequency, and the duration (days lost). This measures the size of the dispute.

FIGURE: VOLUME OF STRIKE ACTIVITY

(Source: Waters, 1982, p.205.



From this figure, you can see that Australia tends to have very frequent strikes of short duration involving a moderate number of people. Sweden's strikes involve fewer people but they last considerably longer. France has strikes of enormous numbers of people lasting for only a short time. These international comparisons are unlikely to demonstrate differences in the innate tendency to strike of workers in different countries. Rather they reflect the structure of industrial relations and methods of settling disputation. One reason offered for Australia's strike profile is the requirement by the Arbitration Commission that an official 'dispute' be recognised before unions can go to the Commission. Thus short stoppages and strikes ('paper disputes') are often held for this purpose.

In order to understand even the facts about industrial disputes, let alone the rights and wrongs, we need much more information. The particular statistics given by Coppell

don't tell us either what proportion of the total workforce has been involved in industrial disputes or what particular sectors of industry were involved. We cannot tell whether unrest was concentrated or widespread throughout the workforce and, apart from the March quarter of 1979, we have no information on what the disputes were about.

M. Waters provides some of these answers in his book *Strikes in Australia*, as do many other industrial relations texts. They tell us more about strikes. For example, Waters (1982, p.185) shows that strikes by miners have decreased since the period 1912-1939, while those in manufacturing and construction have increased. The service sector had almost no strikes before the period 1969-78. However few industrial relations texts tell us why strikes are patterned the way they are (although Waters does attempt such an explanation). Moreover these statistics do not discuss people's attitudes to strikes.

3.2 Perceptions of strikes

The press often contains articles on striking workers in Australia. You will no doubt collect examples of these for the first tutorial. You will notice that the press is usually opposed to strikes, discussing the costs to production, the inconvenience to consumers, the lost wages to innocent workers. Governments, too, are usually opposed to strikes. Why then are strikes such a persistent phenomenon in Australian society? In this section, we will examine the attitudes of Australian voters, the press and unionists to strike activity.

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Read Leonard Radic, 'Unions judged too powerful', reading 8.

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SAQ 6

1. Why do you think that a majority of respondents judged unions as too powerful?
2. Make a list of power resources that the various institutions mentioned in the article could have.
3. Do you think unions have more power resources than the other institutions discussed?

In comparing the relative power of unions and business, P. Anderson (1977, p.337) claims that power is largely on the side of management:

> There is no parity of form between 'Management' and 'labour' in a capitalist society, because labour... can only be withdrawn (or at best used for, say, occupation of factories), whereas capital is money - a universally transformable medium of power which can be 'cashed' in any number of different forms. Thus capital can be switched into control of information media, resources for a lockout, support for a propaganda campaign, finance for private education, funds for a political party, budgets for weaponry in a social crisis....

Anderson, therefore, does not agree with the majority of ordinary voters who see unions as too powerful. Paradoxically, a majority of working Australians are themselves also unionists. The following excerpt from Kriegler's *Working for the Company* throws some light on this dilemma. This reading discusses some newspaper accounts of BHP's difficulties at the Whyalla shipyards, and contrasts these with the views of various workers at the yard, overseas specialists and unionists and also official bodies like the Industries Assistance Commission.

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Read Roy Kriegler, 'Shipbuilding and the unions' (excerpts), reading 9.

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SAQ 7

1. Note some of the emotive terms used by newspapers to describe industrial relations in the shipyard.

2. Who do you think has a more accurate perception of industrial relations at BHP - the newspaper reader or the on-site worker?

Kriegler stresses that newspapers can construct reality more effectively when readers have no independent source of evidence. Unionists, however, learn that newspapers rarely report 'their' strikes fairly. However, unionist newspaper readers do not always extend the analogy to other strikes. They do not see that other people's strikes may also be misrepresented. Kriegler's book, and especially his discussion of the *Auckland Star* incident, received much media attention (most of it on the ABC network). However it should be remembered that the media does not present an unbroken front and that people do have their own experiences to contrast with and weigh against media messages.

Having looked at some everyday perceptions of strikes, we can now turn to some theories about industrial conflict.

3.3 Three theories about industrial relations

Sociology acknowledges three 'founding fathers' - Marx, Durkheim and Weber. In the next reading you will look at a summary of those writers' views of industrial society - how they described the division of labour in modern society, how they explained the organisation of the firm, how they saw people responding to their work situations. In this section, we will focus on industrial relations and the division of labour which generates work relations. The next section focusses on the relationship between workers and their work.

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Read Graeme Salaman, 'Classic theories of bureaucracy', reading 10.

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SAQ 8

Note whether each of these three theories would expect industrial relations to be harmonious or conflictive.

There are two basic theories concerning industrial relations: those of Durkheim and Marx, with Weber taking up an intermediate position between these two. The industrialism thesis which derives from Durkheim's work describes workplace relations as harmonious while the Marxist thesis describes them as conflictive.

Durkheim

In a previous course, HP03a, *Community and Identity*, you were introduced to Durkheim's theory of community. As founder of a long tradition in sociology, Durkheim stressed co-operative relations between individuals. These relations which bound people together gave them a community identification. Durkheim's conception of history endorses a simple two-stage model of change from non-industrial to industrial societies, a process whereby 'cold' (unchanging, simple) societies 'warm up' (through the process of the industrial revolution) to become 'hot' (progressive and complex) societies. Durkheim was interested in the material foundations of the shared values and norms of society. To him, however, the material foundations leading to the division of labour and industrialism were the pressures on the land of a growing population. These pressures required people to be more efficient in their production and so the division of labour came about.

In the transition from one form of society to another, anomie (literally, normlessness) in social behaviour may

occur. Durkheim stressed that this was a passing phase, characteristic of his own turbulent time but not of the good society of the future. Traditional or non-industrial societies are held together by 'mechanical' solidarity. Each person is similar and does much the same tasks. It is their sameness or shared existence that binds them together, as bricks are bound by mortar. Mechanical solidarity functions through shared rituals and strong in-group identification. As the population increases, this places pressure on people to organise their work more efficiently which in turn leads to an increasing division of labour, or differentiation among the tasks people do.

As the division of labour differentiates people and tasks, they become bound together by 'organic' solidarity. In this form it is their interdependence that binds them together, as the organs of a person's body are interrelated. Knowing their dependence on others for their own survival, people are bound together by their differences which creates their dependence. Non-industrial societies are bound by mechanical solidarity, industrial societies by organic solidarity. However the process of transition from one form of social integration or solidarity to another can be painful, and this produces anomie. The old institutions of identification (church, guild, community) break down while new institutions have not yet emerged (Durkheim recommended 'occupational groups', something like company-based workers' clubs). Anomie is also a result of too rapid a change in society's values and its members' expectations, so that the horizon of their desires becomes limitless.

Social order is a result of social identification, the relinquishing of purely individual goals (e.g. for material goods) for those of the collective order. Durkheim, nevertheless, endorsed the greater individualism engendered by the division of labour. He saw industrial society as progressive and evolutionary, and much less repressive than traditional society.

These themes recur in that brand of sociology called functionalism. Perhaps the classic discussion of this is by Davis and Moore (1945) who suggest that occupations are rewarded differently, largely as a result of the contribution their members make to the functioning of society. This would mean that managers are paid more than workers because they are more important. Doctors earn more than garbage collectors (although both contribute to society's health) for the same reason. Women on the whole are less important than men - they receive lower wages. Just as all the organs of a person's body function for the whole, so there is said to be a consensus about society's goals and the functional importance of each stratified (and therefore more or less privileged or deprived) layer or social stratum. Differentiation of function and authority, and the unequal distribution of rewards, is said to result from the widespread acceptance within society of social and economic values and objectives; and not from differences in power.

Such differentiation and inequality as exist are necessary if society is to achieve its goals. You will notice that this view provides a justification for inequality in society.

As a consequence of the biological metaphor which underlies this model, conflict (between parts of society or between unions and management) is seen as pathological (i.e., it is like the heart declaring a 'strike' on the body). Social relations should be harmonious because employees, and citizens, appreciate that what might appear as differentiation and associated inequality are actually relations of functional interdependence. It would be as absurd for one stratum to oppose another as for one organ within the body to rebel against the others because of its dissatisfaction with its specialised function and rewards ('more blood for the liver' could be the slogan). Of course not even the industrialism theorists can argue away the existence of conflict at and around work. But they try to explain industrial conflict not in terms of a conflict of interests or unequal power between strata, but in terms of the confused perceptions of work relations by the people involved. For various reasons workers fail to appreciate that all members of the organisation are similarly involved in a joint, co-operative enterprise for the benefit of all; that within the enterprise everyone, however lowly, has some sort of part to play. When members fail to grasp the essential harmony and interdependence of their organisations (and their society), it can only be because they are viewing matters in a false light. If conflicts persist it must be because for some reason employees are not receiving or clearly understanding communications about their company and their roles in it, because their perceptions are masked by ideology, or because they are under the influence of some trouble-maker or agitator. This is an over-simplification of Durkheim's position. Durkheim was more aware of the 'pathologies' of the labour market which did not allow equality of opportunity to all. In the hands of later writers, these caveats have been lost.

Note the similarity of this functionalist explanation with Durkheim's analysis of anomie as a passing and correctable phenomenon. This theory asserts that there are a large number of strata within the modern corporation - not just the two major opposed classes of Marxist theory:

> ...the pleasing simplicity of Marx's view of society has become a nonsensical construction. If ever there have been two large homogeneous, polarised, and identically situated classes, those have certainly ceased to exist today, so that an unmodified Marxian theory is bound to fail in explaining the structures and conflicts of advanced industrial societies. (Dahrendorf, 1959, p.57)

Industrial society theorists, like Dahrendorf, point to the proliferation of such organisational categories as

clerks, sales staff, managers, professionals, bureaucrats and so on, as evidence of this trend towards a complex differentiation among the workforce.

Marx

Whereas functionalism displays embarrassment about conflict, Marxist theories have difficulties in explaining consensual relations. You have been introduced to the concept of class before. Section 4.2 in Course HP02b, *Urban Australia*, described class as a socio-economic category, whose indicators include income, education and occupation. Some commentators would prefer to confine the term class to essentially conflictive relations whereby one group appropriates the surplus value produced by another group. Status groups (defined by similar income, education and occupation), like layers in a rainbow cake, have no necessary relations with each other but classes are defined by their relation to each other. This definition conforms more closely to the analysis of the industrial revolution and the emergence of capitalists and workers undertaken in Course HP05a, *Work in History*.

Neither should Marx's concept of class be confused with that of Weber, the third of the founding fathers of sociology. Weberian analysis focusses on labour market relations, the price at which labour is bought and sold. For Marx, there is a hidden mechanism behind market relations, in the factory where surplus labour is extracted from the workers. For Weber relations between classes are due to basic differences arising from market strength, or ownership of marketable resources, i.e., they are relations of competition. The key resources people bring to the market are their labour, their skills and training and their ownership of property. The market rewards professional skills more highly than manual skills, for instance. For Marx, relations between classes are essentially relations of exploitation. This is what Salaman is talking about on p.11 of reading 10. A Marxist analysis of class relations does not stop at the market itself; differences in marketable resources and skills are not held to be determined simply by the market, nor even the power of purchasers and sellers of labour on the market, but are reflections in the market of more basic class relations.

One of the basic features of capitalism according to Marx is that it creates two separate and opposed classes - the capitalist class, which owns the means of production and buys labour power in order to use and direct it in production to make profits, and the working class, which has to sell its labour power in order to survive. Relations between these two classes are essentially and necessarily relations of conflict and struggle because the pursuit of profit within capitalism leads the capitalist class constantly to seek ways of improving its position (i.e., to increase the rate of profit) which is only possible at the expense of those who sell their labour power. The resulting

struggle between the classes either takes many forms, some of which are indirect and hard to perceive, or does not take any concrete shape at all. For instance, absenteeism or sabotage are sometimes seen as expressions of class conflict. But the essential conflict of interests between classes is a major dynamic of change within capitalist societies, and represents a major element in organisational life. As a result, relations between managers (as representatives of the owners) and shop floor employees are characterised by constant struggle, with management seeking both to control a work force which is being exploited and, at the same time, to disguise this exploitation. (Section 4, on the labour process, outlines the various forms this struggle can take.)

Note also that Salaman suggests that one possible reason why there may be antagonisms at work without active conflict is because of the power the employer exercises over the workers. Power operates in many ways, as we shall see later: over hiring and firing, in disciplinary measures, and, in the subtle way that managers exercise in the Mitsubishi plant discussed in reading 7, by constructing employees' ideas about their workplace.

Just as functionalist theorists use notions concerning the wrongheadedness of workers to explain conflict in the workplace, so too do the Marxist theorists use notions of false consciousness to explain the lack of industrial conflict. False consciousness is generated in workers' minds, so it is claimed, by the role undertaken by the media, government and business in perpetrating a dominant ideology. This was suggested by Kriegler's description of the press coverage of industrial relations at BHP. False consciousness is also claimed to be a result of the fragmentation of the workforce and the divisions within it, e.g. the male vs female conflict Game and Pringle analyse, the conflict between 'Pommies', 'migrants' and Australians that Kriegler analyses. These issues are pursued in the next section. Writers on work organisations often adopt either a coercive or consensus view of industrial relations. The SAQ below asks you to identify Game and Pringle's position. This will help you to test whether you understand the key differences between the Marxist and Durkheimian approaches.

SAQ 9

Game and Pringle provide some glimpses of industrial relations in their book. Try to think of a way to find these pages without reading the whole book.

Read the pages and say whether what is said fits the functionalist or the Marxist theory of industrial relations.

Weber

Turning now to our third theory, you probably noticed that Salaman has some difficulty identifying the Weberian approach to discussing work organisations. The Marxist approach emphasises conflict while the Durkheimian approach focusses on consensus. What else is there? Weber combines the notion that employees work in relations of power or domination in workplaces (the Marxist view) with the idea that they willingly accept these, and feel such structures to be legitimate (the Durkheimian view). This occurs because of the compelling logic of bureaucratic organisation: it is the most efficient method of performing complex tasks where many people are required. This is what Weber means by the notion of rationality in modern industrial societies.

One consequence of the Weberian position is the suggestion that all modern industrialised societies, whether nominally capitalist or socialist, are essentially the same in their organisational structure. They are bureaucratic - rationally organised - because this is the most efficient form of organisation. For this reason, Weber in 1917 was highly suspicious of the emerging 'socialist' state in Russia. He felt that it would be submerged under an enormous and all-powerful bureaucracy. A so-called socialist society would not prevent this development of bureaucracy because it was the most efficient method of organising decision-making. Like the profit motive in terms of production, it was the mechanism of optimal resource allocation in matters of administration.

Weber traces the development of rationality as it emerged from traditional forms of organisation - forms in which people 'owned' their occupational offices and the lord or king distributed jobs as personal favours; situations in which allegiance was owed to a king, because kings always ruled, rather than to a leader because he was competent. The major transforming force was Protestantism, which Salaman discusses in reading 10. Salaman focusses on the way Weber saw the Protestant ethic as a legitimation for hard work and ascetic non-consumption. This new religious doctrine was meant for the working class as well as the entrepreneurs, although there is some dispute over the extent to which workers willingly embraced the ethic of hard work and sober living.

Rational organisation replaced traditional methods of administration, while science (another rational discourse) replaced magic and superstition in people's lives. Salaman describes Weber's ambivalent attitude to these changes. Weber saw the modern world as 'dreary, flat and utilitarian' (Freund in R10:8). He described an official working in a large bureaucracy as a 'single cog in an ever-moving mechanism' (Weber, 1948, p.228). In his later years, Weber yearned for a charismatic spirit who could break free from the fetters of rationality, which eliminated from life

'love, hatred, and all purely personal, irrational and emotional elements' (ibid., p.216.) and who could lead people to a new, more rewarding lifestyle. On the other hand, Weber often despaired of this leadership eventuating, for he saw rationality and bureaucracy as inevitable.

It is through the comparison of two different world-views that we can grasp the two types of rationality Salaman distinguishes in Weber's work - formal and substantive. Formal rationality refers to the most efficient means of achieving something, while substantive rationality refers to an evaluation of the goals themselves. Traditional societies, shot through with magic and superstition, were not committed to maximum output or to controlling nature. Brian Easlea, in a lively and fascinating book, *Witch Hunting, Magic and the New Philosophy*, posits that the emergence of science in Western society transformed people's attitudes. Science repressed female sources of knowledge and power (witches were often women who had knowledge of herbal medicines, midwifery, etc.). It replaced magic's attitude of an 'I-thou' (co-operative and respectful) attitude to nature, where every tree and lake was inhabited by its dryad, with an attitude of mastery over nature. It measured the triumph of abstract reason over emotional intuition. With this disenchantment, the goals of society changed. In a sense, substantive rationality changed. Science sought (and seeks) domination over nature. For instance, Descartes insisted that animals felt nothing, were merely machines, and so advocated vivisection and wholesale experimentation and manipulation of the natural world. The position of women changed as they became defined as emotional and lacking in intelligence and as their traditional sources of knowledge were immolated in the witch pyres. Economic activity was organised increasingly under the rubric of production rather than consumption.

Ecologists question the substantive rationality of our society, oriented, as it is, to increasing productivity and mastery over nature. Should we seek to dominate nature? Is maximum economic production a sensible goal? Formal rationality avoids these fundamental questions and asks merely: What is the best way to maximise our output of wheat or iron? There is a great difference between seeking the most efficient way of building a nuclear bomb and asking whether society would not be better served by housing, clothing and food. Furthermore, some critics argue that even formal rationality eludes us in a bureaucratic organisation. They identify 'ritualism', which means that people just follow the rules, 'go through the motions', rather than ask questions about why the rules are there or what they are for. Before capitalism, then, people lived in a world with more magic and superstition, a world peopled more by witches and female power-wielders. Of course, medieval society also had its male forms of power - Christianity and the state - which helped overthrow female power, e.g. through witch-burning. Now we live in a world

of science and logic, a world peopled by male power-wielders - most presidents, most experts, most directors of corporations. Weber was a prophet of doom, or at least a man who accepted the inevitability of the present order: however much we may want things to be otherwise, they must be like this; there is no choice. This is a far more difficult position to argue against than the Durkheimian one which claims that our society is good rather than inevitable. What do you think? Do you agree more with Weber, Marx or Durkheim?

3.4 Anomie, alienation and disenchantment

SAQ 10

Does the concept of anomie or that of alienation, as described in reading 10, more nearly describe the notion of job satisfaction discussed in the previous section?

Salaman identified the types of work relations and organisation discussed in three different theories. He focusses on the relationship between people. We have looked in section 2 at the relationship between people and their jobs, as derived from job attitude or job satisfaction surveys. These attitude surveys provide a link to anomie, which also deals with people's conceptualisations of their world.

Durkheim's concept of anomie refers to a feeling of normlessness or rootlessness. It occurs because people do not have adequate meaning in their lives. But this in turn occurs because their links to society, by which they gain meaning, are too tenuous. You will remember from Course HP03a, *Community and Identity*, Nisbet's discussion of anomie where he claimed we all need communities to support and sustain us (reading 2); Berger, on the other hand, noted that support and sustenance is a double-edged sword (reading 7). Communities also control and direct us to follow the values of our fellows. Durkheim saw both aspects of socialisation quite clearly.

You cannot be anomic (a victim of anomie) if you don't feel so. On the other hand you can be alienated without knowing it. Some people say anomie is a subjective feeling while alienation is an objective fact. Alienation is about control or non-control in the labour process. Remember how in the *Work in History* course we discussed the 'separation' of the labourer from his or her tools. This was the process of alienation by which workers lost control of the tools, the product and eventually the process of production itself. These issues are discussed more fully in the next section.

Disenchantment, like most of Weber's concepts, falls between these two concepts of anomie and alienation. As mentioned above, disenchantment is about our attitudes in the world but it is directly linked to the structures in the world which create disenchantment. Rational bureaucratic forms are inevitable (according to the anguished Weber) because they are the most efficient. As such, they will sweep aside alternative ways of seeing the world - through the eyes of religion, magic or emotion. But this loss of the mysterious, this organised ability to control the world, will bring about a profound emotional emptiness. Nevertheless, we are fated to this path:

> [the] technical and economic conditions of machine production ... today determine the lives of all individuals who are born into this mechanism ... [possibly] ... until the last ton of fossilised coal is burnt. (Weber, 1976, p.181. Originally published in German 1904-5.)

This quotation captures Weber's vision of a mechanical dull world and his fatalistic acceptance of it. As rationality increases, so too does disenchantment. The structures of bureaucracy impose meanings on the world which we cannot resist. Disenchantment, then, means both a world-weariness, a pessimism and also the loss of an enchanted world, a world of magic.

TUTORIAL ONE

1. Collect some of the stories in this week's *Courier-Mail* or *Australian* which you think relate to work or industrial relations. Divide them into two categories:

   - those that suggest all Australians share common interests when it comes to work related affairs

   - those that perceive a conflict of interests over work related affairs.

   (a) Does there seem to be any pattern in the allocation? (Examples: Do politicians usually appeal to a community of interests? Do industrial relations reports fall mainly into one category?)

   (b) Do you think newspaper accounts give an adequate representation of work relations in Australia?

   (c) If you answered no to part (b), above, explain your opinion.

2. On p.24 of this study guide, you were asked whether the Australian Medical Association is a union. Be prepared to discuss your answer and reasons for it.

3. The SAQs up to this tutorial will also be reviewed.

If you will not be attending the tutorial, you will find it useful to carry out the exercises.

4 THE LABOUR PROCESS

4.1 The theoretical framework

The concept of the labour process belongs firmly within the Marxist theory of industrial society. We will look at some of the non-Marxist explanations, those offered by a functionalist framework later, but for the moment, however, we focus on the perspective of historical materialism, the method that Marx used. Course HP05a, *Work in History*, focussed on an historical analysis of the changes to work brought about by the Industrial Revolution. Whereas Durkheim divided societies only into 'cold' (static) and 'hot' (dynamic), Marx divided history into epochs, each characterised by a different mode of production (e.g. feudal, capitalist, socialist) and its associated class relations. A materialist perspective assumes that the economic relations in society (the way people produce the goods they need for survival) largely determine the political structures (the state and other power relations) and the ideological relations (the way people think and act out their thinking about society).

Marx described the mode of production as being made up of two elements - the relations of production and the forces of production. We discussed these relations of production briefly in the previous section. The relations of production describe the class relations, or relations of ownership or non-ownership of the means of production that exist between people involved in the production process. The feudal peasant controlled his or her tools and the production process, whereas the lord owned the land and a certain proportion of the crops and produce. But under capitalism, the proletarian worker, who was formally 'freed' from the land, had only his/her labour to sell to the capitalist, who owned all the tools and the product. The labourer is 'like someone who has brought his own hide to market and now has nothing else to expect but - a tanning' (Marx, 1976, p.280. Originally published 1867.)

The transition from feudalism to capitalism was marked by changes in the forces of production - the tools, technology and work organisation (the 'labour process') under which production occurred. Most commentators argue that the Industrial Revolution was largely a result of new technology (one element of the forces of production) which led to new relations of production because of the desire of entrepreneurs to use the machinery as efficiently as possible. This has been called 'technological determinism'. Some Marxists are also technological determinists in this sense because they also argue that the invention comes first, almost out of the blue as it were, and then society changes in order to use it, or because of it. However, other commentators now favour the thesis that changes in the relations of production brought about changes in the forces of production. This is the point of Marglin's (1974)

article, discussed in Course HP05a, *Work in History* (reading 27). He suggests that the capitalist's drive for profit and constantly expanding production led to the congregation of workers under one roof before the new machinery had been invented and applied. These workers were collected together not because the new complex machinery required it, but so that they could be more adequately supervised to ensure that time was not wasted. This contradicts the more usual technological determinist explanation that the new technology (spinning jennies and so on) required or caused a reorganisation of work relations.

Most contemporary writers on corporate organisation claim that the technology and work organisation applied in a firm is so used because it will allow the highest levels of output and productivity. They emphasise 'technical efficiency' as the main determinant of work organisation. But many Marxist commentators focus on 'social control' as of equal importance to efficiency and productivity. This is because, as we saw in section 3, Marxists believe that industrial relations are inherently conflictive.

The labourers sell only their labour 'power', their ability to work. Once they are in the factory the battle is on to extract as much labour, as much surplus, as many products, from them as possible. The workers resist this process in order to protect their health and sanity and because they are not always committed to the goals of the company, to 'profits for the bosses'. Thus what looks like innocent or efficient technology turns out to be new ways of making the workers work hard. Simplifying the tasks so they can be learned and performed more quickly, controlling movement around the plant, speeding the production line are processes which make people work harder. These are all aspects of the labour process.

The other aspect of this process is the change in the form of control or supervision. When factories were first formed workers were relocated in these new work sites but the way in which they performed their tasks remained unchanged. They retained their skills and the autonomy entailed by these skills, while the capitalist relied on personal supervision to increase the surplus extracted from the workers:

> A single entrepreneur, usually flanked by a small coterie of foremen and managers, ruled the firm. These bosses exercised power personally, intervening in the labour process often to exhort workers, bully and threaten them, reward good performance, hire and fire on the spot, favour loyal workers, and generally act as despots, benevolent or otherwise. They had a direct stake in translating labour power into actual labour, and they combined both incentives and sanctions in an idiosyncratic and unsystematic mix. There was little structure to the way power was exercised,

> and workers were often treated arbitrarily. Since workforces were small and the boss was both close and powerful, workers had limited success when they tried to oppose his rule. (Edwards, 1979, pp.18-19)

This was the formal subordination of labour to capital. As factories grew in size, personal supervision was no longer efficient. A growing hierarchy of supervisors and foremen gradually evolved. The Factory Acts of the 1870s, which limited the working day, placed added emphasis on the need to make labourers work harder or more intensively. Gradually a real subordination of labour in the form of a reorganised and expanded control of the labour process emerged. This involved a subdivision of tasks into their simpler elements and a separation of the knowledge of production into the hands of a newly emerging middle class of scientists and engineers and of the control and co-ordination of production to a hierarchy of supervisors and managers.

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Read Harry Braverman, 'Capitalism and the division of labour', reading 11 (part B), commencing at p.3.

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SAQ 11

Braverman identifies an additional reason to those discussed above for the division of labour in the capitalist organisation. What is it?

In this reading, Braverman shows how the division of tasks may be undertaken by a worker to increase efficiency but when these tasks are assigned to separate workers, this creates a very different situation. It is the division of tasks among many workers, rather than the mere subdivision of tasks by the one worker, that increases 'the dexterity of the workman' (Smith, quoted in R11:3).

It is normally the division of tasks among different workers that encourages the development of machinery. Until recently, machinery (like computers) could do simple tasks very quickly but, unlike humans, machinery was not versatile; it could not perform a variety of tasks. With the division of labour, the possibility of machinery replacing or supplementing individual workers became more apparent.

Braverman shows how the division of labour cheapens overall labour costs by replacing more expensive workers with cheaper ones. You will notice that women and girls get

paid less than men. This is still true today. It is one of the reasons (discussed by Game and Pringle) for the sexual division of labour, which we analyse in the next section.

Finally, Braverman points to the deoilitating effects of the division of labour on individual workers. Here he echoes Marx. The development of manufacturing industry created an unskilled labourer by:

> reproducing and systematically driving to an extreme within the workshop the naturally developed differentiation which it found ready to hand in society.... If it develops a one-sided speciality to perfection, at the expense of the whole of a man's working capacity, it also begins to make a speciality of the absence of all development. Alongside the gradations of the hierarchy, there appears the simple separation of the workers into skilled and unskilled. (Marx, 1976, pp.459, 470.)

In stressing this division of labour into degrees of skill, Marx stresses not just productive gains, but also more human losses:

> the possibility of an intelligent direction of production expands in one direction because it vanishes in many others. What is lost by the specialized workers is concentrated in the capital which confronts them. It is a result of the division of labour in manufacture that the worker is brought face to face with the intellectual potentialities of the material process of production as the property of another and as a power which rules over him. (Marx, 1976, p.482)

This process, begun in simple co-operation and developed in manufacture 'which mutilates the worker', is completed in large-scale industry.

You will recall that Durkheim develops a notion of the division of labour too. Do you think it is the same as Marx's?

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Read Braverman, 'Capitalism and the division of labour', reading 11 (part A), pp.1-3.

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Braverman suggests that Durkheim refers to a social division of labour while Marx refers to a detailed division of labour. Durkheim is thinking of the distribution of people in different occupations - craftsmen, teachers, managers. Durkheim claimed, as also did Adam Smith, that this distribution increased economic output. As Braverman so acidly notes, when Durkheim did discover the real effects

of this occupational division in the factories, he was astonished and described the findings as abnormal. This is because Durkheim does not ask why the division of labour is organised the way it is. He focusses on what Weber called formal rationality. The Marxists claim that the division of labour is organised by the capitalists to maximise profits and this may well involve exposing workers to danger, making jobs tedious and boring, ignoring the social effects of production. They argue that this may not be the most substantively rational goal for our society.

4.2 The changing labour process

In this section, we will discuss the labour process - both as Marx and Braverman identify it and particularly as Game and Pringle relate it to the sexual division of labour in Australian workplaces.

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Read Game and Pringle, pp.14-24 and complete the following SAQ.

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SAQ 12

1. Find definitions of: the sexual division of labour; gender; and control.

2. What are some of the key concepts Game and Pringle use which they do not define?

You will notice that some key concepts in Game and Pringle's analysis are not adequately discussed. Labour process is possibly the most glaring such omission. Perhaps many readers would be familiar with the term as it derives from Marx's writings:

> In the labour process, ... men's [sic] activity, via the instruments of labour, effects an alteration in the object of labour which was intended from the outset. (Marx, 1976, p.287)

Here Marx identifies as elements of the labour process the task of labouring, e.g. the skills applied; the instruments of labour (the tools and machines used); and the raw materials; and an element of conception about the product (a seeing of the final outcome in the head before production starts). This last is one of the crucial features of human production, according to Marx. Bees, for instance, no matter how symmetrical their hives, do not have an 'idea' of it in their heads before they start production:

> We presuppose labour in a form in which it is an exclusively human characteristic. A spider conducts operations which resemble those of the weaver, and a bee would put many a human architect to shame by the construction of its honeycomb cells. But what distinguishes the worst architect from the best of bees is that the architect builds the cell in his mind before he constructs it in wax. (Marx, 1976, pp.283-84)

Game and Pringle note that many commentators now accept a relationship between technology, control and the labour process. Game and Pringle wish to add a further element - gender relations. Recent labour process theories suggest that technological change is carefully controlled by management to increase its control of the workforce, e.g. by deskilling labourers. Game and Pringle add that the labour process is also changed to maintain 'patriarchal relations', the relations of power by all men over all women. Jobs are divided into those 'socially constructed' as either feminine or masculine. The former are unskilled, powerless, poorly rewarded. However, there are a number of flaws in Game and Pringle's argument. For instance, the authors tend to identify low autonomy jobs as feminine in a tautological or circular way. Women's jobs are automatically identified as powerless and unskilled. In order to sustain this argument, the authors twist through a number of analytical hoops. Where it appears that women actually have power this is regarded by the authors as an illusion. Where it seems that women control machines (a male prerogative) these are not real machines (e.g. typewriters). Because men enter nursing, new male-based relations are said to emerge.

The authors claim that patriarchy is such a strong force that it overrides the rationale for capitalist organisation, which is the profit motive:

> Just as they will often forego surplus value, if necessary, to increase their control over the labour process, they will forego it also to maintain the sexual division of labour. (Game and Pringle, p.22.)

If this is so, there must be reasons for it. Marx points out that capitalists seek to maximise profits because, if they do not, competition may force them into bankruptcy. Why do men seek to impose patriarchal power? For two basic reasons, according to Game and Pringle. One is a kind of will to power that men desire over women. However, this is refined with Freudian-based reasons on how people achieve their sexual identity in the family. This unsureness as to one's masculinity is expressed as 'castration anxiety' or a desire to keep women at a safe distance and in different jobs, for example. The structures of sexual identification, acquired by children as they grow up, are transposed to the workplace where they explain the sexual division of labour. Game and Pringle do not ask how

patriarchy emerges and is sustained. They merely apply the concept to work organisations. Because there is no explanation for patriarchy in general, there is also no explanation for patriarchy at work.

This leads to the central problem of Game and Pringle's analysis. There are two organising principles for the labour process - patriarchy and profit. Game and Pringle (like all Marxist feminists) cannot decide which one dominates nor how the two are related. This is why we read: 'There is nothing inherent in a job that makes it male or female' (p.23) and yet we are told that women's jobs are always the least powerful and least rewarded. How various jobs come to be seen as powerless and unskilled, and therefore as female jobs, is not really explained. The distribution of jobs to either females or males is described and a different explanatory principle offered in each case study. The explanation always serves to justify women's domination in workplaces. Such an argument borders on dogmatism, or proof by definition.

However this is the only book which systematically looks at gender relations at work in Australia. The first steps in a theoretical area are the most faltering - as no doubt you have discovered in your studies.

The concept of the labour process, in patriarchal discourse (Game and Pringle's term for studies which focus on class analysis), has undergone a revival since Braverman wrote *Labour and Monopoly Capital* in 1974. Braverman extended the notions of deskilling, fragmentation and degradation of work to all sectors of modern work activity, from blue-collar to clerical and service areas. He argued that large bureaucratically organised offices split tasks into tiny deskilled components. A brief discussion of this for tinsmiths and accountants was included in Braverman, reading 11. However, this is not the more detailed division of labour Braverman discusses elsewhere in his book. As a result of this deskilling, the incomes, job security and other rewards of office work have declined below those for blue-collar workers for some levels of clerical and other white-collar work. The introduction of machinery into office work - computers, word processors and so on - has further hastened the process and often allows the working time to be recorded and monitored. This means that the management can check on people's output and compare their performance with that of their workmates. In Australia the growth of white-collar groups this century has been high - especially when one takes into account that the blue-collar group of tradesmen, production workers, process workers etc. has declined from its 1960s peak to match 1911 levels (about 32 per cent). Professional and technical groups have grown from 5 per cent (in 1911) to 13 per cent (in 1978) of the workforce, clerical workers from 4 per cent to 17 per cent, and sales workers from 7 per cent to 9 per cent. Growth has been not so much in the highly professional categories, as in the lower echelons of white-collar work.

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Read Game and Pringle, 'Kentucky-fried money: the banks', pp.41-58.

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The authors, on p.43, suggest that the banking industry does not fit neatly into the analysis provided by Braverman, and yet they produce an explanation of deskilling and fragmentation due to automation which is consistent with his analysis. One of the main reasons for the difference is that banking work has only recently been dramatically changed - degraded - by the introduction of machines. Other ways of separating workers, based on gender relations, have existed for much longer. Game and Pringle also talk of the loss of autonomy for local bank officers brought about by the centralisation of knowledge (in head office's computer). The additional data that Game and Pringle provide relates to gender relations in banking, e.g. that women were employed to operate the new ledger and proof machines, which were identified as 'menial' machines (p.47).

4.3 Three control forms

One of the criticisms of Braverman was that he took no account of the role of struggle - by workers and their unions - in the development of the labour process. Changes are not always introduced on the shop floor without resistance. As Wright (1978, p.119) noted, labour power is sold freely on the market as a commodity, but is coerced within production to produce more value than its own costs of reproduction.

The process of coercion usually brings about resistance by workers. Coercion takes a number of forms - style of supervision, workplace organisation, application of machinery. Worker resistance depends on a number of variables - their skills, the strength of their organisation, the state of the labour market. Here we will look at one model of those changes, the one proposed by Edwards (R12:1) and discussed briefly on p.20 of Game and Pringle.

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Re-read Game and Pringle, p.20, which summarises Edwards's model, and read 'Working at a discount: retailing', pp.59-79.

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Edwards provides us with a model of three terms of control. A model is a simplified version of something else (the thing it models). However, the model usually accentuates some aspects of the object it models more than

others. For instance, a model aeroplane may not fly; it is not usually made of the same materials as a 'real' aeroplane. Rather, it models the shape and appearance of a larger flying machine. Models are useful social science tools because they allow us to simplify reality, to draw out its key characteristics. Models are also possible traps because they may not be appropriate. For instance, in an earlier section, status groups were likened to layers in a rainbow cake to describe how they are placed one on top of another but do not interact. This may, however, be an inappropriate model: they may interact. The model does not prove that they do not. Furthermore, a model focusses on particular aspects of reality to the detriment of others. Edwards's model of control types locates control by individuals, control by the machine and control by the social organisation of the enterprise. Game and Pringle argue that although Edwards may perceive all these sources of control, he fails to perceive an element overriding all these control types: patriarchal control. Edwards also relates the control types to other factors, such as the kind of workers employed. We return to this below.

SAQ 13

Which control type is most characteristic of retailing? Are there elements of other types?

As the case studies by Game and Pringle suggest, one industry may display the full variety of control types. However, Edwards suggests an historical movement through these control types, as follows. Personal supervision was replaced by technical control as the size of the firm grew and owners gained greater control over the labour process by developing new machinery and methods of work organisation; technical control is associated with the name of F.W. Taylor and his technique of 'scientific management'. Resistance to this crude form of control grew and it was replaced by bureaucratic control; the 'human relations' theory of Mayo and others describes this method. Some people claim that Taylor and the human relations experts were ideologues or legitimators of management's drive to control workers by the most effective means available. The following discussion helps you decide for yourself.

F.W. Taylor began work as an apprentice, although he came from a wealthy background. His career developed sufficiently for him to become chief engineer of a large steel company. He was a member and later president of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers. Taylor is today best known for his book *Principles of Scientific Management* (1911), although his first publication was a paper he read to the American Society of Engineers in 1895, entitled 'A piece rate system, being a step towards partial solution of the labour problem'.

Taylor was the founder of 'scientific management', the time and motion study of work operations which derives its claim to science from 'accurate and scientific study of unit times' (Taylor, 1903, p.58). The technique of scientific management aims to increase productivity by improving the performance of the workers. It takes given manual operations and separates them into their component smallest and simplest elements of motion, so that a 'trained gorilla' can perform them (to use one of Taylor's notorious phrases).

The basic assumption Taylor started with was that people are lazy and will attempt to get away with doing the minimum. He advocated the use of an empirical approach to the management of industry which measured the output of workers, and so allowed management to control that output. This empirical approach entailed the utilisation of a number of specific techniques. These techniques could be applied to any industrial situation, since any enterprise was subject to certain basic laws in its operation.

There should be an extensive division of labour not only on the shop floor (as Adam Smith had advocated a century before) but also in the managerial echelons. The main function of management should be future planning. In this way it was then possible for the worker to concentrate wholly on carrying out the task. Taylor believed that there were two distinct personality types: one would lend itself well to the planning function (manager), while the other was more suitable to the doing function (worker). As well as this broad division of task, Taylor also recommended a minute division of tasks in such a way that each individual, both worker and manager, should be responsible for one function only. Taylor argued that up till then the worker had been left on his own to organise his work life as best he saw fit. With the application of scientific methods, management could accurately specify each task.

Taylor advocated the use of time study in order to discover the best way of performing a task. This he saw as the essential component of scientific management: it involved measuring and studying what he referred to as 'unit times'. You will remember from Course HP05a, *Work in History*, Thompson's discussion of time and factory discipline. This was a long slow process of wresting control from the worker and investing it with management.

Taylor argued that under capitalism workers had to learn tasks themselves or through imitation. Either of these approaches meant that workers often devised an inappropriate method of working. In order to overcome the inefficiency of these approaches, Taylor prescribed that all tasks should be divided and that there should be a description of these tasks. Having made these descriptions, the most efficient combination of tasks could be worked out. Once achieved, it was then management's task to train the worker in this most efficient modus operandi.

It was to be made clear to the worker that there was a price for each piece of work and that his or her pay was dependent upon achieving the prescribed output. In the event of achieving a greater output, a bonus payment would be paid. Taylor argued that the bonuses should be generous and consistent.

Unlike his 'human relations' successors, Taylor was opposed to any kind of group activity. He believed that people were motivated by personal ambition and that once put into a group a person loses his or her individual drive. The influence of the group is such as to make one less productive. He argued that female workers were particularly prone to such pressures and indeed he separated them in such a way that talking to one another was impossible.

Lenin, keen to elicit greater output from the workers, advocated Taylorist methods for Russian factories in the 1920s. The reward was not so much monetary, as to do with status: to be celebrated as a 'Stakhanovite', or exceptional worker. Lenin believed that, regardless of whether the goal was 'land, bread and peace' or output for the workers themselves in a workers' state, the work organisation to achieve the goal did not need to be questioned. In this sense, he shared something of Weber's attitude to work organisation. Gramsci, another Marxist, active among the unions of Turin and a member of the Italian Communist Party, had a much more sanguine view of Taylorist methods, and their application in Henry Ford's motor works. His ideas were written in prison mainly during the 1920s. He pointed to the 'breaking up of the old psycho-physical nexus of qualified profession work' (Gramsci, 1971, p.302) and management's attempts to control the morality of workers, (particularly their drinking). Ford introduced the 'five dollar day', a higher wage than other motor body builders, paid in line with Taylor's recommendations. Yet, according to Gramsci, the workforce was extremely unstable.

> But why is it unstable? Why on earth should each worker prefer lower wages than those paid by Ford? Does this not mean that the so-called 'higher wages' are less capable of reconstituting the labour power expended than the lower wages paid by other firms? (Gramsci, 1971, p.311)

Gramsci suggested that the worker was made to work harder under Taylorist methods (both physically and psychically) and so it took more to reproduce him, to bring him refreshed to the factory the next day. Of course, increased output was the object of the exercise for Taylor.

This debate within Marxism between means and ends, or formal and substantive rationality, in a sense, is a continuing one. It asks questions about the role of work in people's lives. Lenin focussed on maximising the products of labour as long as they were distributed to the workers; Gramsci focussed on the realisation of the '"humanity" and

"spirituality" of the worker' (Gramsci, 1971, p.303) in the labour process. Lenin saw Taylorism as the most efficient modern method of work organisation. Gramsci saw it only as a means of discipline to exploit the workforce.

Scientific management was not immediately adopted by all managers. Because higher wages were advocated as part of the technique, some managers believed it would only increase labour costs. But gradually the engineering profession grew, the idea spread, and the possibilities of removing control and knowledge from workers became even more desirable. Ford's production line is the most famous example of its early application. The introduction of a production line reduced the autonomy of workers in a number of ways. In terms of organisation it prevented them moving about the plant and so their time was more easily accountable. They could not claim they were looking for a tool, for example, when not at their work station. This was the kind of excuse often proferred by craftsmen who, constructing a whole unit, would wander off from time to time for a certain sized spanner, more copper pipe - or perhaps a smoko and a chat. Communication with other workers was also reduced. In terms of skill, it removed the knowledge of how to make a car from the craftsman to the production line itself, which organised workers in such a way as to produce the car. In terms of pace, it allowed control of the pace of work by the overseer, or by the pace of the line. These mechanisms increase control by management over labour and consequentially the output of the workers, or so the theory went: the pressure of the line is probably impossible to imagine unless you have been subjected to it. Workers would sometimes throw a spanner into the machinery, or push through inappropriate materials merely to stop the line for a break. Is this rational action or not? By whose criteria?

Even in the West, Taylorism was not introduced everywhere at the same time. Littler (1982) and Gordon et al (1982) provide an historical analysis of its introduction. Introduced in the United States in only some industries most suited to it before the First World War, it began to catch the eye of managers in Britain in the inter-war years. Some would claim that Australia has not yet seen a consistent introduction of Taylorism. These different rhythms for the introduction of particular work methods strongly suggest its negotiated nature. Management may or may not feel pressure to change their ways. Usually management were more responsive when there were pressures on profits, inadequacies of organisation, inability to use new technology with existing work relations. Workers then more or less successfully resisted these changes. The battle can be long and victory only temporary.

Thus Taylor was basically concerned with control in the organisation and with extracting co-operation by means of monetary rewards, while at the same time he was committed to the absolute reduction of conflict.

Scientific management is a very crude form of control, and thus opposition from the workforce soon grew. The major opposition to scientific management came from trade unions. The turn of the century in most industrial or industrialising nations was a period in which trade unions grew rapidly and increased their power. Edwards (1979, p.130) argues that unionisation of the labour force occurred because of the need to resist the introduction of scientific management. Assembly lines are a double-edged sword as far as management is concerned. Highly capital-intensive production may contain built-in elements of technical control but it still requires workers for its operations. A whole production line can be halted because one small section of workers refuses to do its task; hence the effect of sabotage, the 'spanner in the works' mentioned above. Note however that sabotage, or individual response, is not the same as a strike - a collective response. It was collective action that increased most dramatically in some American firms in the 1930s. From being places of massive output, factories in the U.S.A. became the focus for industrial strife. Conflict was so intense and unregulated at that time that striking workers were killed by private soldiers hired by the big companies (known as Pinkerton's men).

Bureaucratic control, laced with human relations theory, was the answer proposed by administrative scientists. Bureaucracy is a concept developed by Weber, as we discussed above. It refers to a particular internal organisation of firms which Weber believed to be the most efficient. Weber saw the emergence of modern large-scale industry as in some ways undesirable but certainly inevitable, because it was technically superior to all other methods of work organisation. Fragmentation of jobs, clear rules, a hierarchy of control and work flows and appointment on the basis of merit are just some of the elements of bureaucracy. Public service departments on the whole are working examples of Weber's 'ideal type' or model.

Because of Weber's concern with efficiency and rationalisation, the relations of production (or class relations of opposition) are submerged beneath a discussion of the forces of production or appropriate technology and work organisation. Conflict is suppressed for a discussion of efficiency.

It is precisely the possibility of predictability and calculation that distinguishes bureaucracy (at least as idealised by Weber) from other sorts of more personal and arbitrary forms of organisation. With bureaucracy, decisions are based on the application of rules and procedures: individual eccentricity or personal loyalties and feelings are irrelevant. Explicit, standardised rules and procedures dominate. Responsibilities, and authority, are distributed hierarchically and clearly. Workers are governed by rules, not controlled by individuals or machines. They accept the order of rules and offices as legitimate, i.e., they

willingly accept and obey them. Thus, Game and Pringle (p.22) talk of bureaucratic control as patriarchy without the father. It is impersonal control to which everyone seems equally subjected. Game and Pringle say it is 'without the father' because firstly the values it espouses are still patriarchal (order, hierarchy, dominance) not the more elusive and maternal values of superstition. Secondly, control is still 'really' exercised by the father, or boss, who sits at the top of the hierarchy. Weber says that bureaucratic rules occur because they are the most efficient. Game and Pringle say they 'occur' because men make them.

Weber argued that socialist societies, no less than capitalist ones, would develop large-scale bureaucratic organisations. Even opposition to bureaucracy itself - to the organisation or to one's place in it - would be likely to be bureaucratised. Bureaucracy for Weber represented not simply the institutionalisation of rationality in modern life but also a distinctive form of domination. For Weber the domination of the employee, i.e., the manner in which the worker/employee is controlled and separated from the instruments of work, product and decision-making, could be achieved in a variety of ways, one of which was through bureaucracy. Such analyses of bureaucracy see it as a natural form of work organisation because it is the most efficient.

The labour process theorists disagree. They claim that bureaucratic control was a response to union activity stirred up by the cruder forms of technical control. If organisational structure is seen as inevitable, and control as an impersonal part of that structure, then resistance is futile. But resistance did occur, sometimes successfully. Added to this the human relations theorists (e.g. Mayo, Rothlisberger and Dickson) had demonstrated that work groups set their own norms and goals. It would be more effective to elicit the willing contributions of workers rather than constantly to oversee their unwilling labours.

Game and Pringle provide several discussions of bureaucratic control in their book. For example, the authors trace changes in the labour process of computing, from its pioneer days when programmers could be seen to punch cards and operators often knew as much about programmes as programmers. Over time, however, a physical and task separation occurred. Operators were confined to the computing room as their jobs were increasingly deskilled, leaving only the manual elements. Punch card operators, and their successors, the VDU (visual display unit) operators, also tied to machines, were isolated from programmers. These last were divided into two categories as programmers executed (wrote out) the programmes conceived by analysts. Here, separation along class and gender lines overlays the separation of mental and manual labour, design and execution. It is with the fragmentation of the programming tasks, made possible by the new computing

languages (FORTRAN and COBOL), that a bureaucratic form of control was really instituted.

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Read Game and Pringle, pp.84-88, on bureaucratisation in computing.

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SAQ 14

Note that on p.88 one of the reasons offered for bureaucratisation of computer programming refers to gender relations. What is the reason? Do you agree with it?

Game and Pringle refer to a particular form of labour market segmentation, that based on gender. It is to this concept that we now turn.

4.4 Labour market segmentation

In this section, we will examine the 'proletarianisation thesis' which hypothesises a degradation of work, particularly deskilling, as capitalism matures. In the following section, we will examine the 'embourgeoisement thesis' which predicted an end to the traditional blue-collar jobs and attitudes. Proletarianisation suggests that all work, including white-collar work, is becoming like unskilled blue-collar work. Embourgeoisement suggests that blue-collar workers are achieving work rewards and acquiring values similar to those of white-collar workers.

People are rewarded differentially for their work. The functionalist theorists attribute this to the different contributions individuals make. A Weberian or market-based analysis, adopting the explanation of orthodox economics, claims that people are rewarded according to their worth to the employers, the buyers of labour, i.e., the market decides on the price it will pay. In this view, discussed in Salaman's 'Classic theories of bureaucracy', reading 10, people are paid what they are worth. On the other hand, the 'human capital' theory suggests that people are paid what they cost - it focusses on input rather than output. Wages are based on the cost of training oneself. However this is compatible with the orthodox economics line because more skilled and educated people are also more productive, i.e., where inputs are higher, so are outputs. Both these theories are market-based and explain wage differentials basically in terms of the different productivity of workers. There are some obvious flaws in this approach. For example,

before 1974 women were paid less than men, explicitly, for the same jobs. This suggests that before 1974 they were less productive than men, while now they are just as worthy workers. Studies in Australia and elsewhere indicate that, for the same jobs and skills, eastern European migrants receive lower wages than the Australian-born workers.

These difficulties with market-based theories were more recently accounted for with the notion of a dual labour market - in the U.S.A. blacks and whites, in Australia English-speakers and non-English speaking migrants. People were said to be divided and rewarded not according to their economic potential, but according to their socially interpreted attributes, e.g. ethnicity, race, sex. This is the notion of labour market segmentation, that there is not just one labour market but several separate markets. The other element of labour market segmentation is that not only rewards, but also the type of job people do, are determined by these personal characteristics.

Pause for a moment and imagine you are a patient just admitted to a hospital. A young white woman approaches your bed. What is her job? Now a southern European male comes up. What does he do? Finally, followed by a group of well-groomed young men and women, a middle-aged white Australian male enters the ward. What does he do? Nurse, orderly, specialist? The fact that we are willing to guess what people do in work situations purely on the basis of their gender, ethnicity and age reveals the high degree of labour force segmentation in Australia. Only 30 per cent of Australian-born men were 'blue-collar workers' in 1971, while 74 per cent of Yugoslav-born male workers were (Collins, 1978, p.69). Conversely, Australian-born and other English-speaking males make up the bulk of the professional and administrative occupations. For women, the pattern also shows a concentration of southern Europeans in unskilled blue-collar work and of Australian-born in white-collar work - though clerical rather than professional (Collins, 1978, p.69). Aborigines show even greater segmentation - men in farming and related occupations and women in household service (Collins, 1978, p.68). While the average weekly wage of the Australian-born male worker in 1976 was $152, it was $127 for the Greek male worker, $95 for the Italian-born woman and between $10 and $24 for the Aborigine (Collins, 1978, pp.74, 76). These wage differentials reveal the different returns to workers in the different labour markets.

Edwards relates the three control types discussed above to the three kinds of labour market.

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Read Richard Edwards, 'Three control types' (excerpt), reading 12.

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Edwards identifies three control types - simple, technical and bureaucratic - and relates them to three market segments: secondary, subordinate primary and primary. This is an extension of the dual labour market and market segmentation theories discussed above, with one important difference. The orthodox economics theory focussed on relevant attributes of the person to be sold in the job market (skill, etc.); the segmentation thesis focussed on other attributes (the relevance of which is more questionable) like race; and Edwards focusses on the workplace, not the worker, as the determinant of the three segments. He does this by relating control types to labour market segments.

The secondary market consists of unskilled, often itinerant or casual blacks, women and migrants. They may be physically separated from other workers (e.g. cleaners, waitresses, seasonal agricultural workers). They are poorly unionised and their pay and conditions reflect this. Edwards also includes the lowest level clerical and manufacturing jobs in this market - no previous training in education beyond basic literacy is required. Migrant women and Aborigines are concentrated in this market.

The subordinate primary market offers more job security, but largely because of successful unionisation. Its largest category is traditional blue-collar workers - assembly-line workers, metal workers, rubber and tyre workers. It also includes unionised white-collar workers and transport workers, for example. On the whole, members are male, white and they have good pay and security of employment, in booms at least. Skill requirements are not always high and are usually acquired on the job.

The independent primary market offers stable employment with considerable job security, the possibility of promotion and work in highly skilled and often autonomous jobs. Supervisors and managers, professionals and craftsmen working for themselves make up this sector. Many are in the public sector and their earnings and job security are considerably higher than for the other two markets. White English-speaking males dominate in this market although English-speaking women are also represented.

SAQ 15

Identify three further occupational groups not shown by Edwards in his model that do not fit into the diagonal boxes. Why do you think these occupations fail to fit into these boxes?

Note that Edwards's theory describes a market by three characteristics - the attributes of the person (ethnicity,

gender), the description of the job (skill, autonomy) and the degree of unionisation of the workforce. Do you think this is sensible, or are different processes being confused in this analysis? If it is sensible, it is because sex, race, skill and unionisation are related to each other in the way they determine incomes or jobs.

The SAQ you have just completed shows that not all categories of workers do fit Edwards's model. Some market segments become unionised 'against the odds', as it were. Because they consist of casual labour, for instance, Edwards would not expect them to become unionised. There are sometimes examples of personal control, even in bureaucratic organisations, and so on. Are there so many exceptions as to render Edwards's model useless? You may like to raise these issues at the next tutorial.

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Read Game and Pringle, 'Sex and power in hospitals', pp.94-118.

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SAQ 16

1. Note the evidence that suggests a link between gender and the type of job done.

2. What are the mechanisms by which this link is maintained?

Game and Pringle discuss the various ways in which skill, gender, power and symbolism interact to produce clear occupational divisions in the hospital. Note the further fragmentation within nursing so that less skilled jobs are now given to nursing aides. In the basement of the hospital will be found the European migrant women cleaning the linen. The one organisation, the hospital, draws on different labour markets for its workers. These people often do not interact and in fact hostility easily develops between them. Several years ago in Perth the hospital laundry workers went on strike. They told press interviewers that their work was made more dangerous because nurses often threw used syringes in the soiled-laundry bins. Nurses had possibly never considered the effects of this careless practice on other workers. It is even possible that they may have felt that eastern European workers were not important enough to worry about.

Marxists claim that such divisions in the workforce are created by management. However, there is some dispute in the literature about this. Game and Pringle see sexism as

an attribute not only of management but also of workers. Other commentators, e.g. Kriegler, note that workers are also prejudiced against certain ethnic groupings. As a result, it has been suggested, management merely play on sexism and racism already in the workforce to further fragment it.

Edwards discusses the effects of degree of unionisation, work type, individual characteristics, organisation size and so on in determining the appropriate control type. Basically the size of the firm increases as one proceeds diagonally down the table. This conforms with our historical survey of changes in the labour process.

You will remember that reading 1 shows a decline for men in the percentage of self-employed and employers in the workforce since 1911. At the same time there has been a growth in the average size of the Australian firm. As the size of the firm increases, a greater percentage of workers (even supervisors and managers) become mere employees in these firms. Note also that women are less likely to be employers and this again reflects the gender distinctions, which locate women in non-controlling categories. The category of occupational status described in reading 1 is not explicitly discussed by Edwards but you can see its relevance as further evidence of the degradation of labour.

Secondly, Edwards suggests unionisation as an important factor changing the rewards of each labour market segment, possibly increasing the rewards of the unionised at the expense of the non-unionised. Note however that unionisation cannot indefinitely replace the rewards of skill. Printers, particularly as organised in the London chapels, have for long maintained the rewards of a work structure based on craft skills. The attacks by Rupert Murdoch and other newspaper owners are finally eroding those rewards, which have no independent base in unique skills any more. (Data processors now perform the work once done by layout printers).

Some commentators argue against the proletarianisation thesis, or the notion of the degradation of labour, pursued in this section. Pointing to the growing middle class, rising incomes of workers, and the displacement of the entrepreneur, they argue that old fashioned, 'red of tooth and claw' capitalism has come to an end. These theorists are much more in line with the industrialism thesis of economic activity.

4.5 The end of ideology thesis

The post-war economic boom of the fifties and sixties engendered a wave of optimism about the future of capitalist society. Commentators felt that economic security for all had arrived and that class divisions had disappeared or were disappearing. Bell (1962) coined the term, the 'end of

ideology', to denote these changes because he felt that with the arrival of a high standard of living for everyone, class conflict or 'ideology' would disappear. (He thought a class based on struggle was false consciousness.) He claimed that all societies went through a series of sectoral changes as displayed in reading 3. Initially, primary industry was the most significant sector in a society, then manufacturing or secondary industry and then finally the tertiary or services sector. Within the services sector, Bell (1974) predicted an explosive growth of information work - teachers, scientists, media people. It is in fact to Bell that Barry Jones owes this aspect of his analysis discussed in section 2.1 of this course. Bell's thesis implies that more and more people had exciting and rewarding white-collar jobs while fewer were subjected to boring blue-collar jobs.

Before Bell, Burnham in the late 1940s had developed the notion of a 'managerial revolution'. This thesis proposed not the end of the working class but the end of the old fashioned owner-capitalist, a result of growth in the size of firms, change in ownership forms (joint-stock companies) and control (by neutral managers). The development of the stock exchange to its present significance depended on the introduction of limited liability legislation in 1856 (in Britain) in consequence of which the owners of an enterprise were no longer directly responsible for ensuring its viability. Before 1856 the situation was quite different: owners were personally responsible for any debts incurred by the enterprise. One consequence of this had been to limit the size of the enterprise and to maximise the amount of involvement of the entrepreneur whose personal fortune was at risk if the enterprise failed. The development of joint-stock legislation was of vital importance to the development of capitalism.

The capitalist now risked not his own capital but that invested by everyone who became a shareholder in the firm. The existence of this freely available credit enabled the organisation to achieve a growth limited only by its capacity to convert goods and services into money capital on the market. The existence of financial resources meant that organisations could grow much faster than previously.

Traditional nineteenth-century forms of organisation, and ownership of organisations, were transformed by the emergence of large-scale, publicly owned corporations. The traditional unity of ownership and control, which occurred when owners managed their own firms, was now broken.

As ownership became dispersed among a multitude of small share-holders, control was vested in a non-owning group of expert functionaries, managers, who were committed mainly to technical efficiency and who, according to some, also became concerned with social or community goals. Some economists who studied the firm disinguished between long-term profits and short-term profits. They suggested that managers of the

ever-increasingly complex and large organisations which were committed to long gestation periods of research and product development sought to maximise long-term profits. This process included improving the firm's community image (e.g. bequests and foundations like the Ford Foundation, sponsorship of sport) as well as investing in areas with no immediate pay-off. Galbraith (1969) took the argument a stage further to argue that the increasing monopolisation of markets allowed firms discretion as to whether they gave priority to maximising profits or firm size, for instance. In this environment, the new managers, the technocrats or scientists and engineers, often focussed their efforts on technological change.

Dahrendorf (1959) claimed that the coincidence of ownership and management in the person of the entrepreneur was exceptional and belonged to a certain period in the development of capitalism. Now that these two functions are separated, it is authority, or the function of management, which is the prime determinant of class, not ownership. If this thesis is accepted, then our relationship to authority (either as authority wielder or subject to it) is the prime determinant of our class position.

Critics of the managerialist thesis disagree with Dahrendorf's arguments on two grounds. The degree to which ownership is widely dispersed has commonly been exaggerated. In fact, data on the distribution of shareholdings, and in particular the distribution of large shareholdings for Australia, shows a high concentration of share-ownership, much of this institutional ownership (e.g. finance companies). Secondly the critics query his argument that managers, particularly senior managers, are in fact non-owners of shares in the corporations they manage. In Australia 4 per cent of shareholders own 55 per cent of shares (Sykes, quoted in Stilwell, 1976, p.88). Many of these are institutional shareholders (e.g. finance companies, banks). Many top managers own large share options to ensure that their interests (job security) do not drift too far from those of the company owners (profit maximisation). Large shareholders are directors of companies and exercise their power to hire and fire managers, a point brought home to many senior managers in the 1980s recession.

Part of the problem here rests on whom one regards as managers. If all levels of management are included then it is true that many do not and never will own shares in their company. But equally, most levels of management play only a small role, if any, in establishing policy or in controlling the structure and function of the firm. Most managers are more controlled than controlling; they are hedged about in myriad ways by subtle but important mechanisms of control. However, critics of the managerialist thesis do not restrict their criticism to such empirical matters. They also question the basic assumption of the thesis that the behaviour of managers, as people in charge of the

corporation's structure and operation, depends primarily on whether or not they own shares. The critics point out that capitalism does not depend on managers' motivation; what is important are the pressures which impinge on managers and the role or function they play in a total system. In other words, critics of the managerialist school argue that even if some managers now perform differentiated functions within capitalism, this does not mean that capitalism has been transformed, merely that it has changed and developed. They suggest that the laws of competition compel both non-owning managers and owner-entrepreneurs to maximise profits, in the longer term if not the shorter, or they will be taken over or bankrupted.

A third 'end of ideology' thesis which gained currency during the boom of the fifties and sixties was the so-called embourgeoisement thesis. Originally this stemmed from a question asked by Engels in the 1870s and 1880s as to why the working class in Britain failed to exploit their new parliamentary franchise (e.g. by voting into power a workers' government). In the post-World War II period it was claimed that the working class had become increasingly integrated into capitalism because of rising standards of living, upward social mobility into the middle class, a new role for the welfare state and so on. In its extreme form, the thesis suggested a homogenisation of all working-class activities, lifestyles and belief systems and a merging of them with those of the middle class. A well-known study by Goldthorpe and colleagues (1969) of automobile workers at Luton, England, specifically chose to 'test' the thesis in relation to a group of affluent workers in a new industry with, it was claimed, modern co-operative industrial relations. The authors discovered that the affluent blue-collar worker was actually not a middle-class lookalike. He often worked long hours of overtime to secure his affluence, his family did not socialise with middle-class families and so on. However he was more 'privatised' than his unskilled and lower-paid, working-class mate: he was a family-centred man and was less interested in union involvement.

The Luton study has been criticised on a number of grounds, one of them familiar to you from Jean Martin (reading 5) in Course HP03a, *Community and Identity*, where she selected respondents that did not fit her model - blue-collar workers in a white-collar suburb, for instance. (Goldthorpe et al., 1969, p.161) deliberately chose a group that they felt would most likely demonstrate embourgeoisement - people in a new town working for companies with enlightened industrial policies. But because of this very choice it can be argued that these workers are not prototypes of the working class (Mackenzie, 1974, p.246). They displayed high levels of geographical and social mobility and could well have been 'self-selected', sharing a high motivation towards material advancement which other blue-collar workers may not have. Additionally they worked in a large-scale industry with considerable

specialisation and control. Workers in traditional suburbs, employed in small firms, with craft traditions may still display the working-class solidarities and orientations which sociologists expect of them (Mackenzie, 1974, p.247). Thus, although Goldthorpe's affluent workers may have become 'embourgeoisefied', this says nothing of the rest of the working class who would be much less likely, one might suggest, to lose their working-class values. Additionally the authors failed to make detailed comparisons with clerical workers - whose attitudes may also be dissimilar to the 'white-collar' attitudes expected of them.

Of course the embourgeoisement thesis is an inverted image of Braverman's (1974) proletarianisation thesis discussed above. Braverman claimed that white-collar workers were being deskilled so that their jobs and rewards (and perhaps ultimately their attitudes to unionism) were becoming more like traditional blue-collar patterns. The embourgeoisement thesis suggests that blue-collar work and rewards are upgraded to become more like white-collar work. Kriegler (1977) tests these theories for some Australian data.

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Read Roy Kriegler, 'Some notes towards researching the embourgeoisement thesis in Australia', reading 13.

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SAQ 17

1. List the criteria chosen by Kriegler to test the embourgeoisement and proletarianisation theses.

2. Which thesis does the evidence support?

3. Which thesis do Game and Pringle support?

4. In what ways do Game and Pringle's data and evidence differ from Kriegler's?

Initially Kriegler suggests that evidence for the embourgoisement thesis is really a result of the proletarianisation of white collar workers. Perhaps blue-collar workers have the attitudes of white-collar workers because they are 'skidded', or downwardly mobile, white-collar workers themselves - not because they are upwardly mobile blue-collar workers. This picks up Mackenzie's discussion of class mobility as an important element in analysing these theories. Mackenzie identified Goldthorpe's blue-collar workers as upwardly mobile and therefore not characteristic of the working class as a whole.

Note also that Kriegler criticises the 'ideal' of a homogeneous class-conscious working class, that upwardly mobile workers have now left behind. The working class was always fragmented, he claims; it is only the bases of fragmentation which have changed.

As we can see from Kriegler's study with Game and Pringle's, the proletarianisation theorists focus on characteristics intrinsic to the job - skill, autonomy, technology - and how these affect rewards and attitudes. The embourgeoisement theorists focus more on lifestyle and attitudes, and suggest that these are mainly influenced by income (hence Kriegler's distinction between affluent and non-affluent workers). This approach is more or less in the Durkheim tradition of analysing industrial society, where solidarity and anomie are defined in essentially subjective terms. For the proletarianisation supporters, and for Kriegler (as his analysis of class in the introduction to the reading indicates), the labour process and class relations themselves cause differences in income. This approach is more or less in the Marxist tradition of analysing capitalist industrial society, where class relations and alienation are defined in terms of the objective situation of the worker. According to the Marxists, the white-collar bank teller may think she is part of the middle class but really her work relations and income deny this. When comparing social explanations, it is crucial to be aware of the different concepts used and how they are related to each other.

TUTORIAL TWO

1. Prepare a case for either the proletarianisation or embourgeoisement thesis to discuss in the tutorial. When you prepare your case you should consider:

   (a) the concepts used by each and their empirical referents, i.e., how you measure the degradation of labour; which class or occupational groups should be analysed;

   (b) the evidence for each thesis - case study data, statistics, evidence from your own experience; which evidence you think is more reliable.

2. This tutorial will also provide an opportunity to review the SAQs and other questions raised in the course. Specific questions were raised on p.42 and p.50.

5 THE FUTURE OF WORK AND WORK OF THE FUTURE

5.1 Will there be enough work?

In reading 2 the decline in the percentage of the labour force in the manufacturing sector over the last ten years was shown. This could also be described in terms of the loss of over 231,000 jobs during the same period. It is not only the growth of the labour force, of young people coming into the labour market, that has meant unemployment of around 10 per cent. High unemployment is also due to a profound structural change in Australian industry - a decline in the manufacturing sector which has not been matched by a corresponding increase in employment in the services and/or mining sectors. Mining is capital intensive (it only accounts for 1 per cent of the labour force, yet 4 per cent of gross domestic product and 25 per cent of exports) while the services sector has grown, at least until the early 1980s, but not by enough. Three reasons for the loss of jobs are advanced by the pessimists: the recession or low level of general activity in the economy; technological replacement of labour with machines; and the movement of Australian manufacturing industry 'offshore', particularly to Southeast Asia. Stilwell (reading 15 in Course HP02b, *Urban Australia*) covers some of these issues under the rubric of restructuring the Australian economy, or the decline of manufacturing industry.

The optimists argue that these events or processes are offset by other factors. The recession must end and the economy experience an upturn into another full-employment boom, as was experienced in the 1950s and 1960s. Technology may displace some jobs but it creates others in the 'sunrise industries', to use Barry Jones's term, such as computers, videogames, tourism. Wealthy Asian neighbours will import our goods and so aid our economic recovery and raise employment levels. Let us examine the two issues of technology and Asian manufacturing industries. (Courses in Phase 2 will address the problems of economic booms and slumps in more detail.)

In 1980, the Australian government released the Myers *Report on Technological Change in Australia*. This lengthy, four volume study reflected the growing public debate in Australia over the effects of technological change. The committee considered technological change would have a limited direct impact on jobs:

> In many cases ... increased productivity of labour results in jobless growth [i.e., growth in output but not employment] rather than widespread reductions in numbers of unemployed. (Myers, 1980, vol.1, p.60)

However, this would be for the better in terms of the kinds of jobs available:

> On average, particularly in the longer term, the likely new technologies will increase the number and range of skilled intellectual tasks and decrease the number of unskilled tasks. (Myers, 1980, vol.1, p.61)

Further to these direct effects, the report also notes the indirect effects of creating new jobs in other industries and generally increasing economic activity. It states as follows:

> In summary, the Committee is of the view that:
>
> - There is a strong link between technological change and economic growth and thence higher incomes.
>
> - There are numerous unsatisfied public and private needs in the Australian community, for which people desire higher incomes.
>
> - Satisfying the needs creates jobs, often in areas quite unrelated to the technological changes that generated the income that enabled the needs to be satisfied. (Myers, 1980, vol.1, p.81)

You should see fairly readily that the Myers Committee has an 'embourgeoisement' theory of social change. Technological change will bring about an increase in the number of white-collar or more rewarding jobs, and also raise the general living standards. This conforms also with Daniel Bell's 'end of ideology' thesis, which we discussed previously.

Many unions suspect that job losses are a result of technological change and are now looking increasingly at redundancy protection clauses in agreements. In June 1981, the Metal Industry Award case asked for the inclusion of clauses designed to involve unions in decision-making about technological redundancies and to compensate them for retrenchments. The Telecom union (ATEA - Australian Telecommunications Employees Association) is one of the pacesetters and was able to insist on assessment of new equipment by both staff and management. On the whole it is the white-collar unions which are more responsive to the threats of technological displacement of jobs.

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In each of the case study chapters in Game and Pringle, find those paragraphs which most closely relate to the impact of technology on work.

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SAQ 18

1. Three case studies in Game and Pringle have sections on technological change. Which are they?

2. Do the authors see technology as skill-creating and job-creating?

3. Why might the authors disagree with the Myers Committee?

4. Three studies do not have sections on technological change. Is this because the authors do not see technological change occurring in these industries?

5. Do Game and Pringle see the computer industry as a sunrise industry, offering more jobs in the future?

Game and Pringle present considerable evidence for job displacement as a result of technological change. One recurring theme is that technological change increases the intensity of exploitation of labour because of the machine-pacing of work. This allows the displacement of other workers or the increased numbers of staff employed only casually or short-term; in other words, it reduces the labour time required to perform tasks.

Here are two competing explanations of the effects of technology on jobs. The answer to SAQ 18, no.3, suggests how they may both be right to some extent. However, it is also possible that one of the analyses is completely wrong, or one may be right for some industries and not for others. We discussed evidence and the problems of collecting it and interpreting it in section 1 of this course.

SAQ 19

What sort of evidence would you collect to test whether or not technology leads to job replacement?

Another theory about labour displacement is the suggestion that manufacturing industry is moving 'offshore', relocating in Southeast Asia. This movement can be related to the development of what has been called the new international division of labour: the 'less developed' countries of Asia, Africa and South America, once suppliers of raw materials (e.g. rubber, oil, bauxite) are now becoming the sites for manufacturing industry. South Korea has a shipbuilding industry to rival Japan's, Singapore and Hong Kong have

expanding clothing industries, and East Asian manufactured exports have grown from less than $US5 billion to over $US25 billion in 10 years (R14:2). Some Australian blue-collar unions argue that the movement of multinational and Australian capital from here to Southeast Asia is one reason for the recent decline in jobs in the manufacturing sector, a point also made by Stilwell (reading 15 in Course HP02b, *Urban Australia*).

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Read AMWSU, 'Why the horror policies go on and on', reading 14, and David Hickie, 'How would you create half a million jobs?', reading 15.

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SAQ 20

Compare the AMWSU's explanation of unemployment with those given by the writers in the *National Times* article, particularly by Ken Court. What assumptions do various writers share? What do they disagree about? Do the different assumptions the authors make explain their different solutions?

These readings should remind you of the themes we explored in section 2.3. There are two kinds of explanations of economic crisis - one is based on the idea of unions and governments being too powerful, the other on corporations being too powerful. Solutions recommend reducing the rewards, i.e., incomes, that power of the 'evil' party. It should be very clear by now that explanations of the crisis have a great deal to do with the position of the commentator in economic and social relations. This does not mean that competing explanations cannot be evaluated as better or worse, but we will need the concepts introduced in the political economy courses in Phase 2 to do that more thoroughly.

In the *National Times* article Barry Jones suggests that the easiest way to solve the unemployment problem is to reduce the demand for jobs. Job-sharing and part-time work are two methods which reduce the hours worked. Returning to education or retiring early reduces the working-lifetime. Some of these strategies are reasonably widespread in Sweden and other countries. Beasley (in Wilkes, 1981) discusses the prospects for Australia. Of course it helps women to do their 'double shift' of work and home duties if they can work part-time. On the other hand, part-time work often creates problems for employers. (If it did not they would introduce part-time work themselves.) Part-time workers are also harder to unionise and unions often resist a push

towards more part-time work for this reason. Despite these problems there has been a considerable increase in part-time work, particularly in unskilled jobs done by women - as Game and Pringle discuss for the retail industry.

Jones, however, is suggesting something more along the lines of sharing interesting and highly rewarding jobs, but this solution has not gained wide acceptance. A better way to describe Australian society at the moment would be to divide people into two categories. Most 'workers' have full-time reasonably rewarded jobs. But about 25 per cent of Australian income recipients are not working - they exist on pensions of one sort or another and may be active in the hidden economy. The 'self-service' economy of backyard jobs and repairs, small domestic businesses (e.g. dressmakers, potters, freelance writers) is another term used (Henry, 1982). This economy lives off and is affected by the welfare sector and the dominant capitalist economy. In May 1983, Prime Minister Hawke suggested communes as a solution to Australia's unemployment problem (*Australian*, 1983, 25 May). This is another version of the idea of a non-capitalist economic sector existing alongside the dominant sector. Do you see any dangers in encouraging these kinds of solutions to the unemployment problem? (The answer to SAQ 1 gives you some ideas.)

Some people, like Barry Jones, argue for an expanded choice in working and leisure pursuits. Others, however, feel that many Australians will be channelled into ghettos and deprived of the chance of rewarding work as a result of these strategies. A similar debate surrounds part-time work. As mentioned above, it frees women, particularly, to tailor working times to home duties but the work is usually poorly rewarded and uninteresting, as Game and Pringle discuss.

You will no doubt come across 'technological future' stories which show husbands and wives perhaps working happily at their domestic computer terminals in their own homes. They may choose when to work, how much to do and how best to meet both child-rearing and work demands. However, as the union organisers for the clothing industry will tell you, home workers are 'privatised'. They do not work with other people and so cannot develop the sense of shared goals and commitments that workers in large factories or offices may develop. Home workers are often not unionised and, as a result, work for lower than award rates (usually piece-rates), pay for their own electricity and are open to swindling by the middleman. This describes the conditions of many migrant seamstresses in Melbourne who work under piece-rate conditions. They are additionally captive and powerless because of their family commitments and this reduces their bargaining strength. You will remember that 'putting-out' was a pre-industrial form of work organisation discussed in Course HP05a, *Work in History*. Workers were brought into the factory so their work could be better controlled, because the possibility for cheating of various

sorts existed. Whether home workers at their sewing machines today or at their computer terminals tomorrow can also cheat is an interesting question. Payment by piece-rates does tend to 'control' output to some extent. If the rate of payment is low, the worker produces more goods to generate a higher income. However, it does not prevent corner-cutting and other strategies which the outworker of the industrialisation period engaged in.

One issue that is raised by this discussion is that the work form may change at different times but still meet the needs of one or other group in the organisation. For example, as we saw above, putting-out can potentially advantage either capitalists or workers. This issue of power or control will be dealt with now.

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Read Russell Lansbury, 'Structural and institutional barriers to change', reading 16. He provides a summary of some of the issues this course deals with.

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SAQ 21

Lansbury's explanation of changes in work organisation falls clearly into one of the explanations of economic relations discussed in this course. Which one is it - Durkheimian, Marxist or Weberian?

A recurring theme throughout this course has been the theme of control and power. Who decides what technology will be employed? Who controls the decisions about government spending and wages? It could be argued that neither the AMWSU nor the captains of industry put much faith in decisions made by the other side. To these adversaries the struggle between capital and labour, the class struggle, is real. To Lansbury however there is a possibility of compromise and working together to solve problems. Industrial democracy is a solution proposed by the industrialism theory because it assumes that there are no irreconcilable conflicts between different social groups. By now you will have your own ideas about this.

5.2 Conclusion

In traditional societies people worked but did not describe their activities as such. Will our future be marked by an absence of work? Not a merging of work and leisure but an almost total absence of productive labour? This is a common scenario in science fiction writing. (In Victorian novels,

protagonists rarely worked either. Leisure then was the pursuit of the rich. In science fiction writing everyone pursues leisure.) *Player Piano* by Kurt Vonnegut is an entertaining exploration of some of the issues to do with work - our identification through the kind of work we do and the effects of the displacement of all productive labour by machines. Written in the 1950s, it is remarkably prescient.

However, Marxists would disagree with Vonnegut's vision of the future. Remember that in Course HP05a, *Work in History*, we learned that value is created by labour power. This is why capitalists 'work' labourers as long and hard as possible, i.e., in order to extract surplus labour from them. This becomes the capitalist's profits. Many Marxists claim that labour is the real source of value; machinery passes on the value incorporated in it by the other labourers who made it. If this is the case, the economy can never consist only of the output of machines. There has to be some human labour to create value, to produce the machines in the first place. Of course one may claim that machines create products of more worth than the cost of the machines making them. Technological optimists obviously believe this.

More fundamentally, perhaps, Marxists believe that within capitalist relations, technology is always introduced to increase profits and not to make the lot of workers easier and less physically demanding. Until the power relations of capital are changed, the visions of Barry Jones and science fiction writers of a leisure-filled future cannot be realised.

Work is a central issue in our lives. It is constantly discussed in the media, in books, at dinner parties. Often this babble of competing voices is confusing and difficult to evaluate. We have offered some reasons why there is little agreement on issues relating to work in our society.

We have looked at the different kinds of data and statistics that are available, and asked questions about the assumptions under which they are collected and analysed. We have discussed three basic theories of industrial organisation, as derived from Durkheim, Weber and Marx. You will be aware that industrialism theorists believe in consensus and progress; they are usually optimistic about industrial (and hence contemporary) societies. Marxists use concepts like the labour process to locate the power relations and conflict between classes. Irreconcilable differences mean that one class's loss (in wages for example) is another class's gain (in profits). To these people technology is not neutral but a weapon to control the workforce. The Weberians focus on rationality and efficiency, the inevitability of social change and technological inventions but also the losses that these changes bring to autonomy and 'magic' in people's personal lives.

Theoretical explanations are more systematic than the views of society's members, e.g. newspaper reporters, workers, politicians. This does not necessarily make them more 'correct', as you will be aware by now. However this course has, it is hoped, given you the tools with which to identify assumptions and discuss th logic of and evidence for different arguments.

Return now to the preliminary exercises (p.4) and judge how much your opinions have changed.

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ANSWERS TO SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

Preliminary Exercise

Question 1: You probably said true but may have been hazy about your definition of work. Perhaps this definition is almost tautological - our central concern is in fact our work, whether we are paid for it or not. Twenty-five per cent of Australian income recipients depend primarily on pensions of one sort or another. for their income. Are supporting parents working? Are pensioners? Many people do not fit the commonsense definitions of work, as this course will make clear.

Question 2: You probably said true and even after reading section 4 you will still be right in a way. However section 3 analyses the way in which technology is applied not only because it is neutrally the most efficient but also because of its effects on workplace discipline or control. Because certain kinds of technology force workers to work harder or faster, or control what they do, such machines are often chosen over others. However this does increase the output of workers and such technology could be described as 'more efficient'.

Question 3: Section 1 discusses a famous job attitude survey in Australia. Work is more degrading for unskilled workers than it is for professionals, managers and other independent workers.

Question 4: Unemployment rates vary considerably over time indicating either that people's desires to find work vary or that the availability of work varies. One would expect it to be harder to find work during an economic recession. In section 1, we also look at the way in which the size and composition of the labour force vary as the sectors change, as the participation rate of women changes and so on. Unemployment measures both the supply of jobs and the demand for them.

Question 5: This is very much a value-laden question. Note, however, that it assumes that women, rather than men, should bear the burden of unemployment. There are no calls for married men to return to the home and make way for the youth unemployed. The problems of sharing jobs among people are discussed in section 5.

SAQ 1 (p.14)

1. Jones identifies nine reasons for a five-sector model on pp.52-53. These can be summarised in terms of jobs related to providing more or better information (his reasons 1,3,4) and his redefinition of work, particularly as regards housework (his reasons 2,5,6,7,8,9). The major difficulty of the analysis is

whether paid or unpaid work should be treated in the same way. Certainly in terms of independence and social relationships the housewife is not in the same position as the housekeeper. Other problems relate to the similarity of categories within sectors. For example, should the printing industry, which manipulates materials (Jones's definition of the secondary sector), be in the quarternary sector? Jones places it there because he sees it as part of a growth sector in terms of employment while the secondary sector is shrinking in terms of employment. The competition between different reasons for his classification prevents Jones from satisfying all criteria at once.

Jones also has some less apparent objectives of his own - to suggest that housework-related activities can be redefined (and hence upgraded) as work, thus proportionately reducing the number of unemployed in our society. He justifies this in terms of the value of such work, but does not (at this stage) broach the problem of its remuneration.

SAQ 2 (p.16)

1. The similarities:

   The world of consumption is structured and controlled as is the world of work.

   Housework takes time (e.g. shopping) which is necessary (not discretionary).

   Some kinds of housework, e.g. shopping, have been deskilled.

   Technology has made many tasks in the home easier.

2. The differences:

   Women are expected to be loving and caring in their housework.

   Women are expected to please their families with what they buy and prepare for them.

   It is treated as leisure not work and so, trivialised and despised.

SAQ 3 (p.17)

The AMWSU poem is a parody of the 'Treasury line' on recession. Treasury blames the recession on a lack of profitability of Australian industry due to an excessive share of national income going to wages. The poem 'And Pigs Might Fly' suggests that a reduction in wages may reduce

unemployment, but only if capitalists were to act in uncharacteristic ways. It requires, according to the AMWSU, a redistribution of those profits to consumers, who can then spend the money and so call forth more production.

SAQ 4 (p.21)

1. In the Acknowledgements. They talked to a 'vast number' of workers, conducted a survey of white-goods employees, and interviewed unionists.

2. A letter to the Editor in Adelaide's *Advertiser*. They toured workplaces and conducted interviews. Government publications for various statistics and background information.

SAQ 5 (p.25)

1. Firstly, numbers in the workforce have grown so that a falling percentage of this growing number can still result in a growing number. Secondly, of course, the percentage of women who are unionists has increased, so the percentage of male trade unionists decreased as that of women grew.

2. At first sight the conclusions are straightforward. Whether or not the measure used is average number of workers involved, number of industrial disputes, or number of working days lost, there appears to have been a relatively high level of disputation at the beginning of the period covered here and another steep increase towards the end.

SAQ 6 (p.27)

1. Your initial response may be to agree with the respondents who thought that unions are too powerful, because they are always going on strike and so on. However, it could also be because the power of unions is more obvious than that of big business; or the media continually presents unions as too powerful; or the survey was conducted during a strike. This last suggestion is unlikely as unions were also considered too powerful by a majority of respondents in previous surveys, and one would not expect strikes to be happening during all surveys.

2. Money, ability to influence public opinion, control of the government or the state, control of the means of production, control of labour power, control of the economy are some obvious ones.

3. The different institutions mentioned in this poll have differing degrees of access to these power resources.

It would be hard to argue that unions have considerably more than their closest contender, big business.

SAQ 7 (p.28)

1. 'Productivity is notoriously low' (p.2).

   Unions would 'move in and clobber it to death' (p.2).

   Less obviously, why 'bring further discredit ... when all eyes are watching our performance' (p.5).

2. It would seem that the workers who experience industrial relations have a better perception, but note that even the unions did not appear to know what was going on - and so became embroiled in the stoppages that saved BHP from paying late-delivery charges on the *Auckland Star*.

SAQ 8 (p.29)

Normally Durkheim would consider industrial relations to be harmonious although conflict might occur in the period of transition; Marx considers industrial relations to be inherently conflictive, while Weber sees them as potentially harmonious - based on the legitimacy given to the management by the workers.

SAQ 9 (p.34)

You look in the index under likely subjects - 'industrial relations', 'conflict', 'unions' etc. In fact 'trade unions' is the subject you want.

Most of these excerpts deal with gender conflicts as they relate to unions, although the one on the banking unions explores class consciousness issues. Several of the other excerpts (pp.78, 93) almost suggest that a failure of working-class consciousness is due to union activities. However underlying the discussion is the Marxist idea that workers should be in opposition to their bosses and it is these elements of false consciousness which hold them back.

SAQ 10 (p.36)

Anomie is the closest approximation because it relates to the worker's feeling about his or her social relations. The Marxist concept of alienation refers to property or power relations of which workers may not be aware.

SAQ 11 (p.41)

A further advantage of the division of labour is that fragmented labour is cheaper. As Braverman shows in the table on wage rates, workers are paid only for their most skilled function.

SAQ 12 (p.43)

1. 'The sexual division of labour refers to the allocation of work on the basis of sex, within both the home and the workplace' (p.14).

   Gender is the 'social meaning' of being male or female (p.15).

   Control is identified, not defined, as three types which are discussed using Edwards's typology (p.20).

2. Definitions of power, technology, labour process, class, social relations, social practices, and deskilling, (unless we accept its almost tautological identification with women's work) (p.18) are not provided.

SAQ 13 (p.47)

At the turn of the century it would appear that shop assistants were controlled by personal supervision. (There was an extension of this patriarchal surveillance to their work attitudes and personal lives) (as discussed on p.21). Computerisation of stock levels, registration of the price etc. through the zebra-striped Universal Product Code has introduced technical control. This most affects the check-out operators whose pace of work is also monitored by the machine. Finally the use of a career structure introduces an element of bureaucratic control, or control through the very organisation of the workplace, and (often minute) divisions between jobs. All three methods of control are, or have been, used.

SAQ 14 (p.53)

Bureaucratic control allows an impersonalisation of gender relations, keeps women at a safe distance. This is considered necessary because they are doing the same job as men. (Generally women's jobs are different, at least in the one work space.) One of the questions that needs to be answered about this proposition is: Why should management provide a relation (of distance) which male employees require? Game and Pringle would answer that patriarchy overrides position in the hierarchy. Men endorse the domination of women by other men. For this reason, male managers see it as natural that their own male subordinates should be in positions superior to those of female

subordinates. This is not to say that men are conscious of these needs - Freudian explanations do not operate at the level of conscious motivation.

SAQ 15 (p.56)

Some examples include the self-employed (farmers, corner-delicatessen owners) who are not 'controlled' by others, unskilled workers who have achieved unionisation or shared the rewards won by other workers, e.g. clerical assistant staff in the public service have job security. In some work relations - as Game and Pringle show for hospitals - personal authority relations override bureaucratic relations, e.g. the nurse who serves the surgeon. Another example, contrary to Edwards's analysis and which reveals his gender-blindness, is the female secretary to the male managing director.

SAQ 16 (p.56)

1. Evidence for gender differentiation:

   (a) The majority of nurses are women while most doctors are men. The tasks and power of each are distinguished. Evidence for the opposing thesis is the delegation of some of the doctor's diagnostic functions to nurses.

   (b) Where women are doctors and nurses men, they are treated differently but ambiguously, i.e., women 'should' be subordinate to men in job hierarchies. Male nurses must be homosexual (not 'real' men).

   (c) Nurses fight each other for space and control, rather than fighting the dominant male doctor group.

2. Mechanism of maintenance:

   (a) symbolism of family reproduced in hospital

   (b) nursing work is women's work - 'housework', 'caring', 'cleaning' (p.97)

   (c) authority structure of family reproduced in hospital - nurses as 'children' and interns as 'boys' who will leave 'mum' (the matron)

   (d) nurses controlled by social definition of 'good woman' and how she behaves

   (e) doctors mystify and control 'scientific' knowledge

   (f) sexual domination allowed by certain job relations - e.g. nurse assisting surgeon.

SAQ 17 (p.61)

1. Criteria: income, decomposition of socio-cultural barriers between middle class and working class, ten attributes shown on p.3 cover aspirations etc. (these are all measures of attitudes).

2. In terms of income, either thesis (only overlap of incomes is discovered). In terms of conditions of work, there is a clear separation of two groups (neither thesis supported). Affluent manual workers did reveal greater similarity with white-collar workers on the ten attitude items - support for embourgeoisement thesis. However the bottom (non-affluent) white-collar workers also appear to be proletarianised in their attitudes.

   In sum there is a blurring of incomes and attitudes of lowest level white-collar and highest level blue-collar workers; evidence for both theses, but limited to particular sections of the workforce.

3. Game and Pringle endorse the proletarianisation thesis - at least of large sections of blue-collar and white-collar workers (particularly women). Hyper-skilling may refer to the embourgeoisement of other sections of workers.

4. Note however the different criteria used in the two studies. Kriegler focusses on attitudes and Game and Pringle on the labour process or characteristics of the job.

SAQ 18 (p.66)

1. Chapters 1,2,3: 'Automation' is in the section heading.

2. Game and Pringle adopt a 'labour process' analysis of technological change which assumes that it is deskilling and often job replacing.

3. Besides the fact that one of the commentators may be wrong about the effects of technology on jobs, it is also possible that, because Game and Pringle look at relations internal to the industry, they do not notice job gains in other industries, which are revealed by the Myers Committee's more global approach.

4. No. Technological change has affected both retailing and housework. It has had less effect on nursing and has not reduced the hours of labour in housework (an opposite effect to its application in other industries).

5. There are more jobs in computing than there were ten years ago (e.g. p.88). However, note that the process of job fragmentation also occurs in these industries.

SAQ 19 (p.66)

It is hard to discover whether technological change causes job replacement or not. However, crucial to the analysis would be a measure of labour time worked (employees, hours worked, etc.), output of the organisation (sales, value added, etc.) and technological change (amount spent on machinery, installation of particular technology, e.g. word processors, use of electric power). If output and technology increased while jobs decreased or remained unchanged, one could suggest that technology had led to job replacement. However, jobs may be created elsewhere in the economy (e.g. making the word processors) or in later years as a result of increased productivity.

SAQ 20 (p.67)

AMWSU: Unemployment is due to the power of wealthy Australian elite and huge multinational corporations. They have moved manufacturing production out of Australia to Asia where production is cheaper because of harsh labour laws, low wages and incentives offered by Asian governments. Technological replacement of labour is another cause of unemployment. Multinationals disguise profits, do not pay enough taxes, and so job creation programmes are not possible.

Solutions: Reduce the hours people work so the fruits of technological change can be spread more evenly; increase the say of ordinary people in economic matters.

To some extent the conclusions follow - the cause of unemployment is the power of the corporations, the solution is to decrease their power and increase the power of ordinary people. The reading does not say how to compete with cheap Asian labour; do we raise tariff barriers, stop capital from moving, or engage in technological replacement and redistribute the national cake?

Jones endorses the AMWSU's view of sectoral causes of unemployment (a declining manufacturing sector) but proposes growth in leisure industries and caring industries as a solution. He also proposes a reduction in hours worked - but not each week, over a lifetime. From some similar assumptions he reaches different conclusions but he, like all the other *National Times* contributors, does not discuss power. Thus his solutions focus on a concept of efficiency of resource allocation.

McClintock, Hughes and Howard agree that profits are too low because wages are too high, although McClintock and Hughes also claim that government costs are too high. Wages must be lowered (the AMWSU's retort is 'How low? To the level of Asian wages?'). Note also the direct contradiction with the AMWSU's strategy for more government intervention. These three writers ask for less.

Court adopts the neo-classical economics approach to the world economy. Countries produce goods and trade with each other. Eventually the forces of competition mean that each country produces what it is best at. There is no concept of BHP in Australia also being BHP in Indonesia. Will it 'compete' against itself to maximise efficiency? Again, the solutions of lower wages and less government spending are offered.

SAQ 21 (p.69)

Industrialism thesis.